HOW SMALLPOX WIPED OUT MILLIONS | WWI SOLDIER'S SECRET SKETCHES | FIRST NATIONS LAWYER FIGHTS FOR JUSTICE

CANADA'S HISTORY

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Vol 95: 1

Features

20 Captain Cook's Canada
He mapped much of our coastline, yet Captain James Cook has received little recognition as a founder of our country. *by Barry Gough*

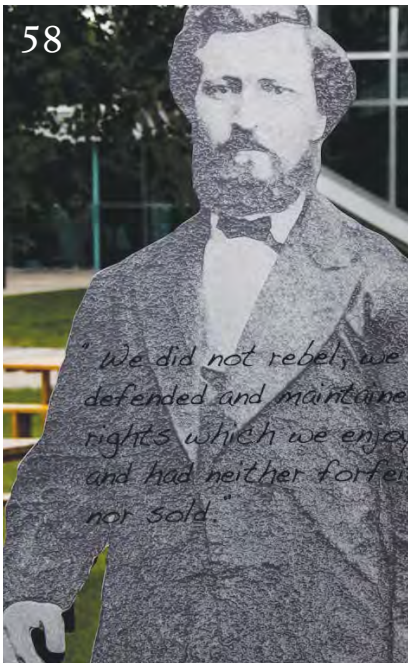
28 A Pox on Our Nation
Much of Canada's early history was shaped by the presence of smallpox, a "speckled monster" as deadly as Ebola. Could the disease rise again? *by Christopher J. Rutty*

36 William Stark's War
Sketches done by a private during his spare time provide an intimate look at life behind the lines during the First World War. *by Jim Burant*

42 The Serpent Slayer
Andrew Paull's unique legal training prepared him for a lifetime of advocacy on behalf of First Nations people. *by Janet Nicol*

COVER ILLUSTRATION: ROBERT CARTER

CONTENTS



Departments

10 Letters Who's who in the last spike. The Klan in Saskatchewan. Give the BCPP its due. Crossing signals. *Bleu* funk. Moonbeam.

19 Trading Post Inuit child parka. Plus, stories from more than nine decades of *The Beaver* magazine.

48 Reviews Hollow victory. Revising nature. Captivating experiences. Home fronts. Mapping the shadows. More books: Canoeing communities, Celtic crafting, lighthouse living, hitting the highway.

56 Your Story Family members go digging to uncover what's up with their famous ancestor's grave.

58 Destinations Path of most resistance: Exploring the flashpoints of Louis Riel's 1885 uprising.

60 Christopher Moore A century ago, Canada was asked to contribute forces to maintain the status quo in the Middle East. Sound familiar?

61 Roots Geneaology on a budget: How to find freebies when researching your family history.

63 History Matters Celebrating the best and brightest in the history community.

66 Album Making music a family affair.

Currents

12 News Calgary's King Eddy gets a new lease on life.

14 Dress codes Putting the squeeze on the S-curve corset.

15 By the numbers Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

15 Object of interest Bison backbone with arrowhead.

16 Signposts Something funny about Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!, Quebec.

16 Photographic memory A home for friendless women.

17 History Idol Celebrating Thanadelthur, an eighteenth-century Aboriginal peacemaker.

COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

Flanders Fields

Canada's John MacRae wrote "In Flanders Fields" after the horrific Second Battle of Ypres. A hundred years later, the poem is as stirring as it was on the day it was written.

Plus: A brilliant cartoonist's tragic legacy. And, remembering Canada's role in liberating the Netherlands.

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Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

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Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the HBC History Foundation.

Editorial guidelines can be found on our website. We assume no responsibility for unsolicited material.

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Killers within

It was one of the last photos to cross my desk as we were finishing our latest book, *Canada's Great War Album* — an image of a little boy standing on the bank of the Grand River in Paris, Ontario, holding a homemade fishing pole.

Freddie Redfern, seen here, was just three years old when this photo was taken in May 1918. A few months later, Freddie fell ill with what his parents believed was a common cold. Within a few days, he was dead — another of the more than fifty million victims worldwide of the Spanish flu that raged at the end of the Great War.

Freddie's haunting photo is a stark reminder of the deadly toll disease has exacted on humanity over the ages.

From Old Testament stories of divinely inspired plagues terrorizing Egypt, to the Black Death that stalked Medieval Europe, to New World pandemics that decimated Aboriginal peoples, viruses and bacteria have often changed the course of history.

In this issue, we examine the impact of one of history's most vicious viruses, smallpox. In "A Pox on Our Nation," Christopher J. Rutty explains how smallpox wiped out indigenous populations, inadvertently aiding the colonization efforts of European traders and explorers.

It's chilling to think that, as you read this, Ebola continues to rage in parts of Africa, while elsewhere in the developing world all manner of diseases — some treatable, others preventable — continue to steal too many lives too soon.

We've come far in terms of understanding and combatting these microscopic killers; think of how basic hygiene and vaccinations have helped to halt disease transmission. But clearly there's more research and preventative work to be done to rid future generations of these unseen scourges.

•••

Speaking of explorers, this issue's cover story focuses on arguably the greatest seafaring explorer ever to set sail — Captain James Cook. In "Captain Cook's Canada," historian and author Barry Gough argues that Canadians haven't done enough to recognize or commemorate Cook's contributions to the exploration and founding of our nation. In my opinion, he makes a strong case.

Mark Reid

Contributors

Barry Gough, the author of this issue's cover story on Captain James Cook, is an acclaimed maritime and naval historian who has written several books — including three published in 2014. A British Columbian, Gough holds a Ph.D. in imperial and naval history from King's College in London, England. He received the Clio Prize of the Canadian Historical Association, among other awards, and is a professor emeritus with Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo and past adjunct professor of history at the Royal Military College of Canada.

Christopher J. Rutty wrote "A Pox on Our Nation." He's a Toronto-based professional medical historian in private practice with expertise in the history of public health, vaccines, and biotechnology in Canada. He received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Toronto in 1995. His dissertation focused on the history of polio in Canada. Since establishing his Health Heritage Research Services consulting firm in 1995, Rutty has provided research, writing, and creative services to a variety of clients, most notably Sanofi Pasteur Canada (formerly Connaught Laboratories).

Janet Nicol, who wrote the feature story about the Aboriginal activist Andrew Paull, is a secondary school history teacher in Vancouver. She is also a freelance writer with an interest in local history and social justice issues. During summer breaks, she has taught in Mongolia, Peru, and Tanzania, gaining an appreciation of indigenous cultures. Nicol holds a master's degree in educational history from the University of British Columbia, has served on the British Columbia Historical Federation board, and contributes to its quarterly journal, *British Columbia History*.

Jim Burant, who wrote about First World War artist William Redver Stark, has an international reputation in the fields of art history and archives. He worked at Library and Archives Canada in various capacities from 1976 until his retirement in April 2011. Burant has published and lectured widely on aspects of art, photography, and archives, and has been the curator for numerous exhibitions. He holds a master's in Canadian studies, specializing in art history, from Carleton University and received the Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal in 2003.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Who's who in the last spike

Although many people in Canada are very familiar with the photo of the last spike, not so many have seen it in the detail shown in your recent magazine ["Ties That Bind," December 2014-January 2015].

In an era when the height of one's hat was positively correlated with one's social standing, there is one gentleman who is obviously the third most important person in the photo, and he is the portly person on Sir Sandford Fleming's right. Do we know who he is? More intriguing is the young man — or is it a girl in disguise? Seeing a young person in the midst of such a gathering is quite anomalous. Can you shed any light on the mystery for me please?

I enjoy your magazine very much. Keep up the great work!

Henry C. Halls
Toronto

Editor's note: The man on Fleming's right is William Van Horne, who was then vice-president of the CPR. The boy in the picture is Edward Mallandaine, seventeen, who happened to be passing through. A story about Mallandaine appeared in the August-September 2008 issue of The Beaver.

The Klan in Saskatchewan

Jessica Knapp's item on the Ku Klux Klan in Canada ["By the numbers," October-November 2014] sparked my interest, since my family was living in Saskatchewan at the time of the 1929 provincial election.

My parents, Reverend Duncan A. and Barbara Aitchison MacLean, were serving the United Church in Wilcox, Saskatchewan. Dad also served on the school board. One evening when Dad was attending a board meeting, Mother had just put her three small children to bed, when the doorbell rang. Upon opening the door, she was confronted by several hooded figures who advised her to get her husband out of town or else "you will be taking him out on a slab." Mother was naturally quite terrified and afraid for her children's safety. The cowardice of this visit has always appalled me.

Katheryn Broughton
Thornhill, Ontario

Give the BCPP its due

In your article on train robber Bill Miner ["Ties That Bind: The gentleman train robber," December 2014-January 2015] the historical reputation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is being enhanced at the expense of the proud tradition of the British Columbia Provincial Police, who helped to shape the course of B.C.'s development for ninety-one years [1859–1950] before being absorbed by the RCMP.

In the search for Miner, the BCPP posses were assisted by a Royal Northwest Mounted Police patrol from Calgary and by CPR detectives. It was BCPP constable William Fernie from Kamloops [with a reputation as a tracker during the Boer War] who, while alone, located the Miner gang and sought help from a nearby Mountie patrol, resulting in the capture.

Andrew F. Maksymchuk
Vernon, British Columbia

Crossing signals

The horn signal sounded by a train engine ["Ties That Bind," December 2014-January 2015] at a crossing is Morse for Q — long, long, short, long. The final "long" is held while the engine actually passes the crossing. What a happy coincidence that the first four notes of "O Canada" are also long, long, short, long. Ever since hearing the Confederation Train engine horn, I think of "O Canada" whenever I hear a train's crossing signal.

Wynn Downing
London, Ontario

Bleu funk

Thank you for your essay on the flag debate ["The Great Flag Debate," December 2014-January 2015]. I remember it well. As a first-generation Canadian, born in Quebec City and proud of being bilingual thanks to my Irish mother's insistence that my brother and I learn to speak French from childhood, I was and remain disappointed that blue was omitted. Six years later we were faced with the October Crisis; might this omission have been a contributing factor?

Rita Griffin-Short
Hamilton

Moonbeam

Your brief item on Moonbeam, Ontario ["Signposts," December 2014-January 2015] caught my attention as it brought to mind being stopped there by the Ontario Provincial Police and given a speeding ticket in the early 1970s.

Alan Rayburn's *Dictionary Of Canadian Place Names* (1997) has a somewhat different explanation for the origin of the community's name: "Its railway station was named in 1913 after Moonbeam Creek, given earlier when a splash of moonlight was observed in it." Keep up the good work.

Peter Murphy
Brampton, Ontario

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada. Include your address and phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

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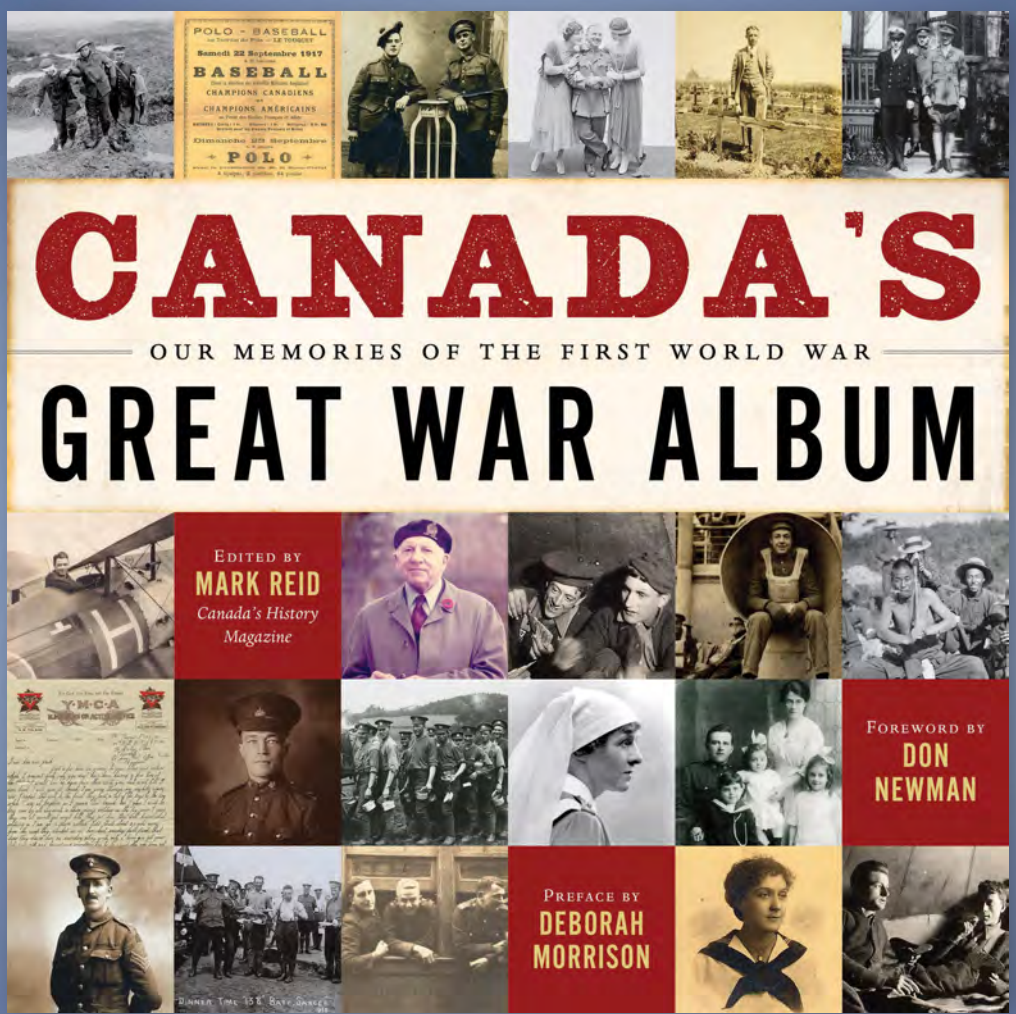


A compelling and moving account of the First World War
told through the personal stories and photographs of Canadian families,
including contributions from Peter Mansbridge, Charlotte Gray,
J. L. Granatstein, Christopher Moore, Jonathan Vance, and Tim Cook.

harpercollins.ca

Hitting the right note

Musical landmark gets new lease on life

Music lovers will soon be singing the blues in Calgary — and that's a great thing for fans of heritage preservation. It's because one of the city's key musical landmarks — the King Edward Hotel — is undergoing a multi-million-dollar restoration and expansion.

The King Eddy, possibly the oldest blues bar in Canada, is being transformed into the new home of the National Music Centre (NMC), a museum and performance facility dedicated to showcasing Canada's musical past, present, and future. Located in the city's East Village neighbourhood, the venue was known to patrons as the "Home of the Blues." Many musical legends played there, including BB King, John Hammond, Pinetop Perkins and Buddy Guy. Built in 1905, the hotel enjoyed years of glory, followed by decades of decline; it closed in 2004.

In February 2013 the National Music Centre broke ground on the restoration and expansion project. The King Eddy was taken apart brick by brick. Each brick has been cleaned, stored and placed on numbered pallets so that the building can be reassembled exactly as it was in 1905. Not only will original bricks be recycled, but original sandstone windowsills, cornices, and the signature neon sword sign will also be re-used.

The King Edward will be the showcase element of the more than $200-million expansion. It will host live music seven days a week and boast five floors of exhibition space, a three-hundred-seat performance venue, a radio station, recording studio facilities, distance education classrooms, and more. To see more photos of the King Eddy expansion, go to: CanadasHistory.ca/KingEddy.

GEORGE WEBBER

GEORGE WEBBER

CHAD SCHROTER-GILLESPIE

Clockwise from top left: Bricks in the King Edward Hotel are numbered prior to disassembly. Workers use a crane to remove the hotel's iconic neon sign. The expanded King Eddy takes shape. Opposite page: The neon sign comes to vivid life at dusk in Calgary.

GEORGE WEBBER

DRESS CODES

The S-corset

Why diet and exercise to slim your waistline when you can simply wear a corset?

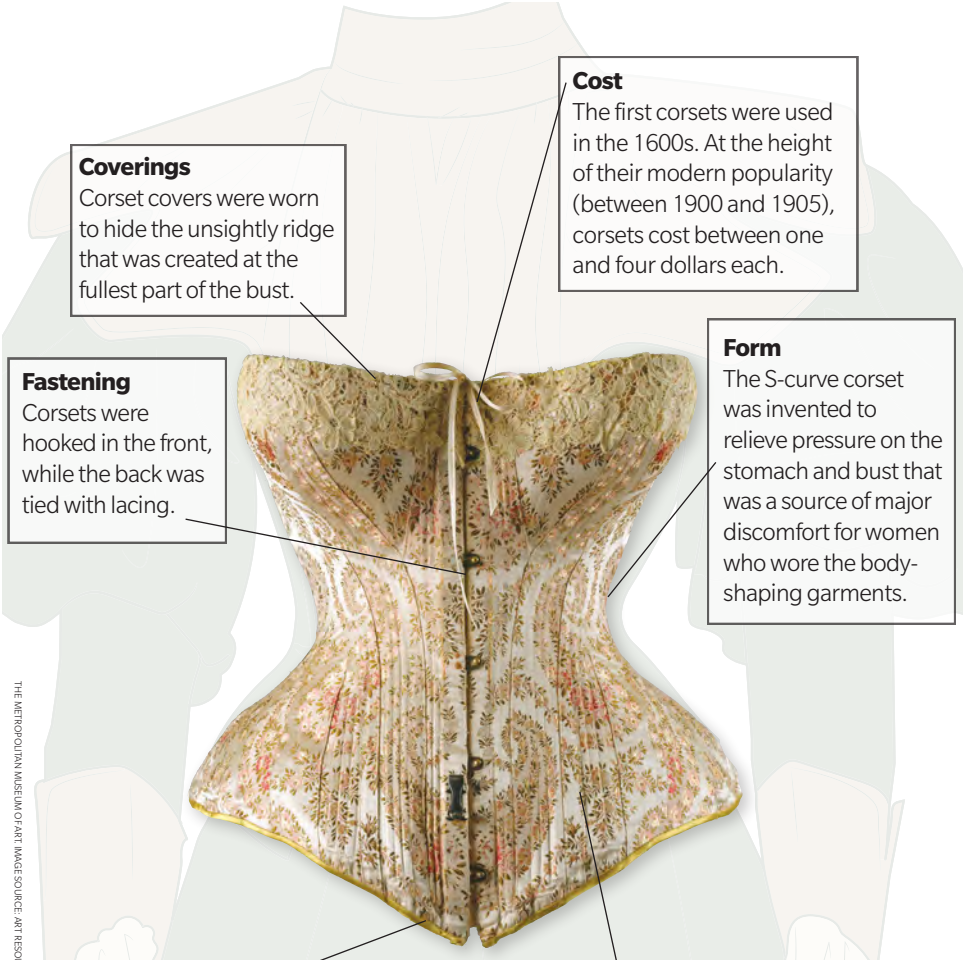
Many Canadian women developed this attitude in the late nineteenth century. The popular S-curve corset narrowed a woman's waistline by flattening her abdomen, which arched her back and threw her bust forward. When corsets were tightened too quickly, abrupt changes in blood pressure caused some women to faint.

Corset companies were established in major Canadian cities by the 1880s. The companies mostly hired women and could produce up to a thousand corsets per day.

S-curve corsets soared in popularity in the early 1900s, in part thanks to the "Gibson Girl" illustrations by American graphic artist Charles Dana Gibson, which featured beautiful women with tightly corseted silhouettes. The most famous Gibson Girl was Camille Clifford, a Belgian who also found fame as a Hollywood actress.

This fashion trend died out after the outbreak of the First World War. Read more at CanadaHistory.ca/Scorset.

— **Jessica Knapp**



Coverings
Corset covers were worn to hide the unsightly ridge that was created at the fullest part of the bust.

Cost
The first corsets were used in the 1600s. At the height of their modern popularity (between 1900 and 1905), corsets cost between one and four dollars each.

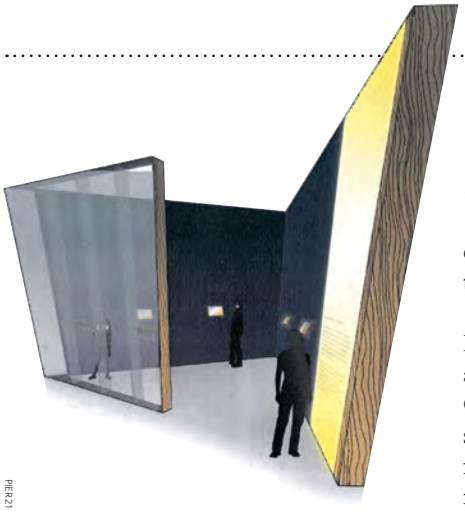
Fastening
Corsets were hooked in the front, while the back was tied with lacing.

Form
The S-curve corset was invented to relieve pressure on the stomach and bust that was a source of major discomfort for women who wore the body-shaping garments.

Length
Corsets varied in length in the front, depending on the style and the degree of support desired by the user. In the back, the S-curve corset stopped at the sacrum in order to create more fullness in the rear.

Support
More expensive corsets used whalebone or steel for structure. The Crompton Corset Company of Toronto obtained a patent to use Coraline, which was made by drying and scraping the leaves of Mexican agave plants to produce istle fibres.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART IMAGE SOURCE: ART RESOURCE NY / ILLUSTRATION: ETHANIEL RITCHOT



PIER 21

Sharing our stories

The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21's first ever travelling exhibition, Canada: Day 1, is moving across the country.

The exhibition debuted at the Nanaimo Museum in British Columbia and in January appeared at the Markham Museum in Ontario. It aims to encourage Canadians to share their immigration experiences: their first steps, first impressions, and first experiences as newcomers to Canada. Alongside the physical exhibition, the Canadian Museum of Immigration has introduced a free mobile application, which provides video clips from newcomers sharing their first impressions of Canada.

This exhibition is part of a legacy project that will commemorate Canada's 150th anniversary in 2017.

To join the conversation, follow the Canadian Museum of Immigration on Twitter at @Pier21.

TAKE THE DAY OFF

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

FEBRUARY 19

To note the pardoning of Gabriel Dumont on this date in 1889 regarding his participation in the 1885 Northwest Rebellion, where Dumont had served as the military commander for Louis Riel and the Métis. Following the defeat of the Métis at Batoche, in what is now Saskatchewan, Dumont fled to the United States and performed in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Dumont returned to Canada in 1888 and died near Batoche in 1906.

OBJECT OF INTEREST

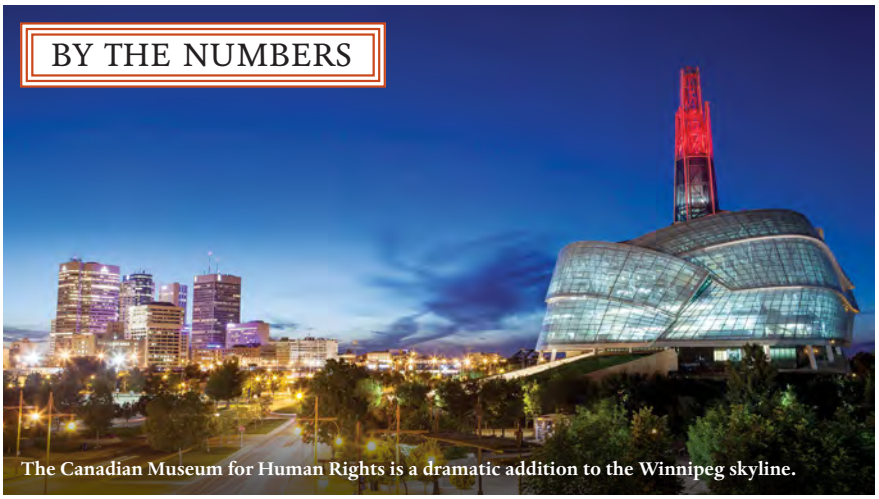
CMH X-B-17391-2020SCANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Bison vertebra with arrowhead

This bone specimen is a rare example of the effectiveness of traditional hunting techniques — a metal arrowhead fired from a powerful bow has embedded itself in the vertebra. It was found in the mid-1880s on the Saskatchewan side of the Cypress Hills.

This object is part of the collection of the Canadian Museum of History.

BY THE NUMBERS



AARON COHEN/CMHR/MCDP

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is a dramatic addition to the Winnipeg skyline.

Canadian Museum for Human Rights

Canada's newest national museum opened in Winnipeg in the fall of 2014 after years of development. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights uses innovative technologies and thought-provoking galleries to help visitors explore the complicated and controversial legacy of human rights achievements — and abuses — throughout history.

351 MILLION — Capital cost, in dollars, of the building and exhibits.

12 — The amount, in dollars, for adult admission.

24,000 — The total exhibition area, in square metres.

9,000 — Number of visitors who received free preview tickets for the opening weekend.

100,000 — Number of words that appear in exhibits throughout the museum.

11 — Number of themed galleries within the museum.

4 — Tally of stone "roots" at the base of the museum that were designed to represent all humans as children of the Earth.

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

TOPLEY STUDIO/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/PA-027434

Ironing Room, Home for Friendless Women, Ottawa

Opening its doors on January 9, 1888, the Home for Friendless Women sought to reform any "sinful, friendless woman without regard to creed, nationality, age or condition, at any time, night or day; the only requisite being a desire to live a better life."

Women accepted into the home came from the Carleton County Gaol (Ottawa Jail), from the street, or from the railway station.

A woman could only be admitted to the home once she had signed off on the home's strict rules, which stated that she must always obey her matron's orders and that she must live "quietly and peaceably with the inmates." Laundry and ironing services were quickly established, not only to financially sustain the home but also to steer the women away from "idleness" during their stay.

This photograph of the ironing room, taken by local professional photographer William James Topley (1845–1930) sometime in February 1895, captures a seemingly candid moment with more than a dozen women at work, surrounded by their young children and infants. Evidently the room also served as a nursery.

While it remains unknown why Topley photographed the home and its residents, it is interesting to consider how this photograph reflects a broader narrative of late-nineteenth-century social purity and reform movements.

Selected by Library and Archives archivist Emma Hamilton-Hobbs.

Making history

Canada's History Society has a new President and CEO. Janet Walker joined Canada's History Society in the fall of 2014. The Winnipeg-based Walker is an experienced not-for-profit executive and fundraising professional with a passion for history and commitment to the development of collaborative partnerships.

As Executive Consultant to The University of Winnipeg Foundation, Walker played a key role in the successful "A World of Opportunity" capital campaign that raised more than $70 million in support of her alma mater. She served as Public Affairs Manager for the tri-government Winnipeg Core Area Initiative; was the first Executive Director of Tourism Winnipeg; and provided leadership for the Health Sciences Centre Foundation as Executive Director.

SIGNPOSTS

Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!, Quebec

This municipality near the south shore of the Saint Lawrence River is no joke.

In archaic French, the term "the haha" means an unexpected obstacle or dead end.

Rumour has it that explorers unexpectedly encountered Lake Témiscouata and had to take a detour. Others believe the name came about after explorers had walked for miles through a steep forest and yelled "Ah! Ah!" out of joy when they saw Lake Témiscouata. No matter what the story is, residents are proud to live in the only municipality in the world that has two exclamation marks in its name. — **Danelle Cloutier**

Does your hometown boast a unique name? Email us at editors@CanadasHistory.ca, and we may feature your community in an upcoming issue of Canada's History.

TAKE THE DAY OFF

WIKIPEDIA

MARCH 18

To recall Fleury Mesplet, who left Philadelphia for Montreal on this date in 1776 to set up a pro-revolution printing firm. Mesplet had set up a printing business in England prior to moving to the U.S. He was arrested in Montreal after the American army left the city, but two years later he started a short-lived newspaper. In 1785 he published the first edition of its successor, the *Montreal Gazette*, which is now Quebec's oldest daily.

HISTORY IDOL

Ambassadress of Peace by Franklin Arbuckle, circa 1952.

HBC HERITAGE COLLECTION

Thanadelthur

Northern peacemaker united Chipewyan and Cree peoples

Thanadelthur was a resilient woman who in the eighteenth century played a crucial role as a translator for the Hudson's Bay Company. A member of the Chipewyan nation, she lived in the Churchill River region of Manitoba. Captured by the Cree, the young woman spent a year as a slave before escaping to the HBC base at York Factory. While there, she met HBC Governor James Knight, who recruited Thanadelthur to be a peace envoy between the Chipewyan and Cree peoples in the region. We caught up with Canada's History New Media Editor Tanja Hütter to find out why Thanadelthur is her history idol.

Who was Thanadelthur?

Stories about her have been handed down through the tradition of oral history, and her actions were documented by employees of the HBC. But we have no written record from Thanadelthur herself.

What we have are some generally accepted premises. In November 1714, Thanadelthur came upon tracks that put her on the path to York Factory. HBC Governor James Knight wanted to build a post on the river for the Chipewyans as a way to expand HBC's trade. But ... he needed to broker a peace between them and the Cree.

When Thanadelthur came along, it was like a match made in heaven. She was looking for a way to reunite with her family, and she spent the next two years in the service of Knight as an interpreter and guide, helping him make trade inroads with the Chipewyan. In December 1716, after some resounding successes, she and Knight were making plans for a new venture in the spring — but she fell ill with a virus. Eventually, in February, she succumbed.

What did she accomplish?

Thanadelthur's role as the ambassadress of peace allowed economic and political activities to flourish for the Chipewyan, the Cree, and the British. Knight reclaimed York Factory from the French in late 1714 and needed to re-establish trade relations. He knew about the Chipewyans, but they were reluctant to travel to the post for fear of the Crees attacking them. A peace expedition was mounted, beginning with Thanadelthur as interpreter and guide. (Thanadelthur eventually managed to convince 160 Chipewyans to return with her to meet with HBC and Cree representatives.) It was no easy task. They say she talked herself hoarse for two whole days before she could persuade the Chipewyans that the Cree were interested in peace. Ultimately, the Chipewyans and the Cree became friends and trading partners.

Why is she your history idol?

In my mind, Thanadelthur was the ultimate example of 1700s-era girl power. She would have had to have been one smart cookie: she learned multiple languages, was skilled in survival, and she wasn't just able to communicate — she was reported to be eloquent and practical enough to persuade hundreds of men to choose commerce over war. She changed the way of life for the Chipewyans and the Cree and increased market share for the HBC. Also, she was brave. While on an expedition, she had no shortage of things to say to her Cree companions ... calling them cowards for killing her people. I think she has to be the poster child for inner strength. — **Text by Sarah Reilly**

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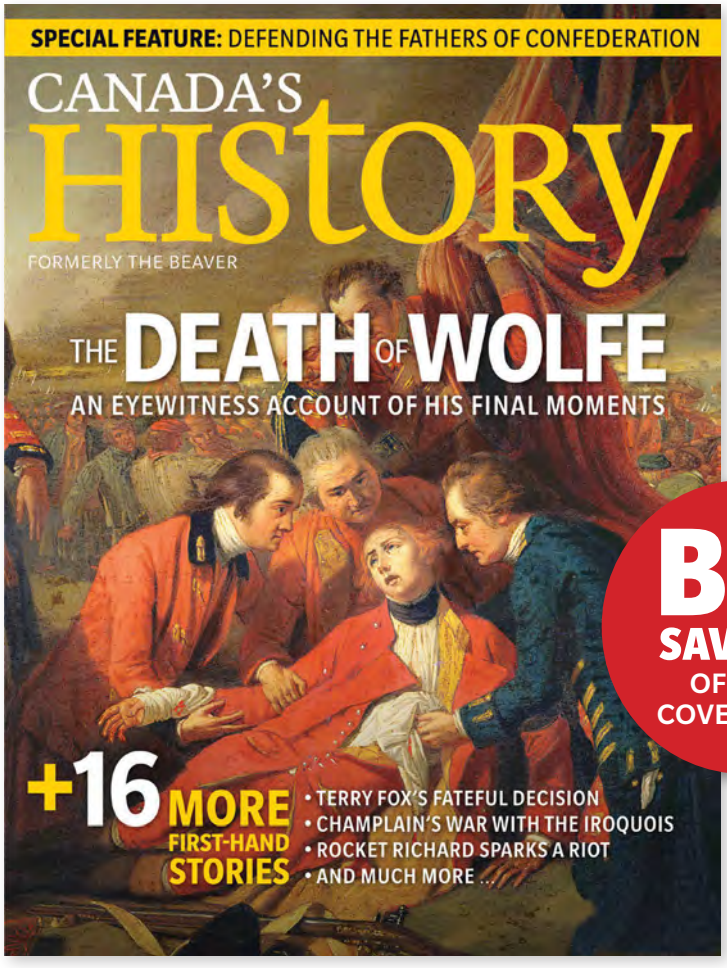
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TALES AND TREASURES

From the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

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Inuit child's parka

Parkas like this early 1940s coat are quite rare. It was made by the Kimmirut Inuit band, which as recently as 2005 had a population of only about 345 people. The Kimmirut have resided for centuries on the southwestern shore of Baffin Island, Nunavut.

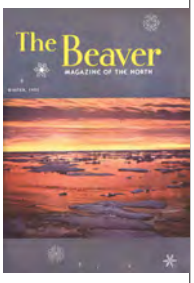
They were one of the first Inuit groups to come into contact with Europeans and made this coat as a trade item. The loon's neck skin and feathers that were used to make this waterproof coat have a powerful spiritual significance in Inuit culture — the loon is believed to be a spiritual helper and, in one story, is said to have cured a young boy of blindness. The Inuit also used loon skins and feathers to make bags and to make caps that were used at drum dances. — **Danelle Cloutier**

In The Beaver…

90 years ago

Can't find the right hunting ammunition? The December 1925 issue published an advertisement for Remington Game Loads, shotgun shells "that reach out and get the high-fliers." It was part of a full-colour insert that also advertised shotguns, rifles, and hunting knives.

60 years ago



The Winter 1955 issue dedicated six pages to a photo essay by Rosemary Gilliat about an unnamed public health nurse who lived in Whitehorse and travelled the Yukon for work. Gilliat described the nurse as "capable" and "self-reliant." Photos show her giving an injection to a child, persuading a trapper to go to the hospital for treatment, and relaxing at home with a friend.

30 years ago

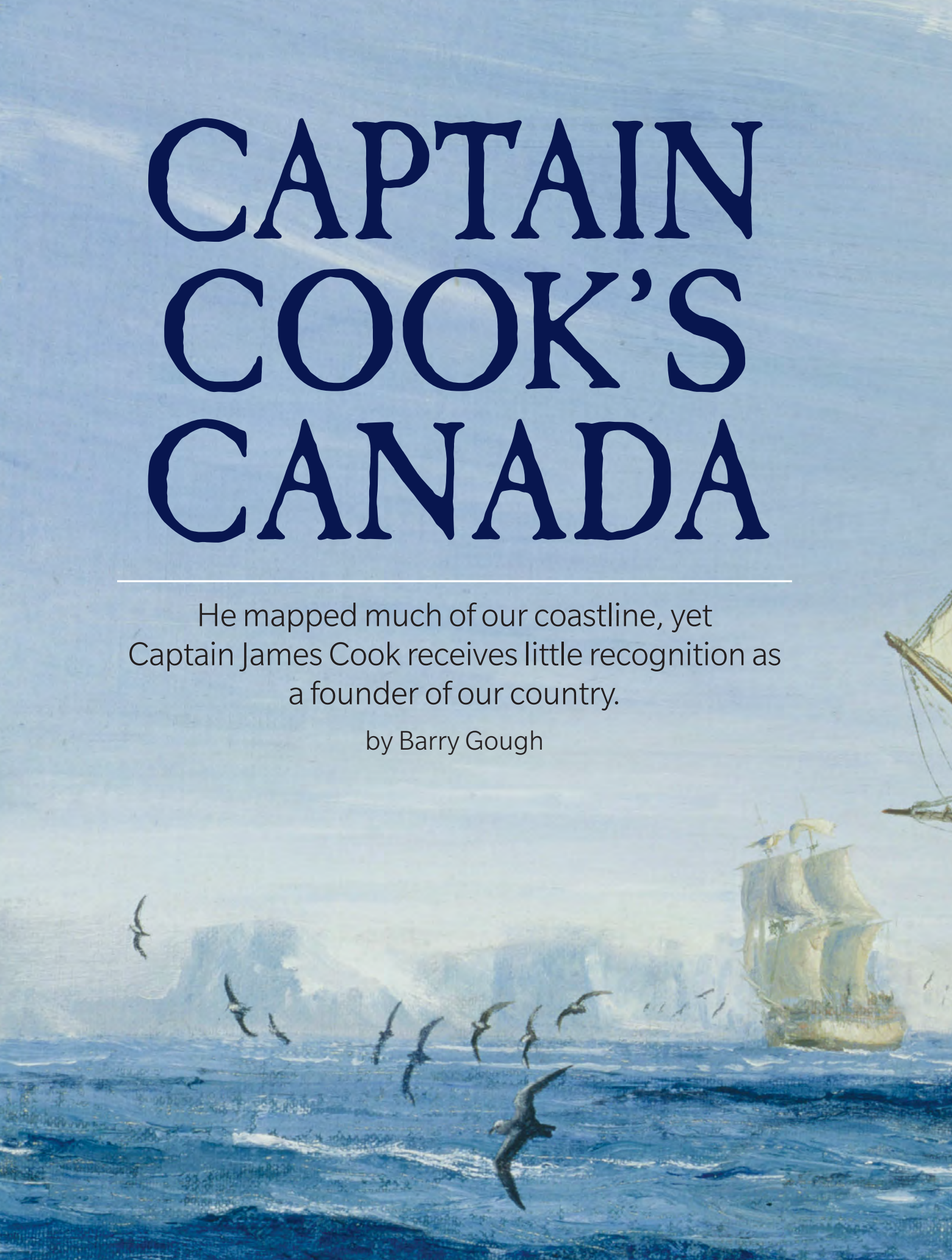
The Summer 1985 issue marked the end of an era for *The Beaver*. Helen Burgess retired after thirteen years as editor, having played a big part in covering stories about social history. In the same issue, Hudson's Bay Company vice-president Rolph Huband noted that the magazine would be published bimonthly beginning in 1986 — a schedule that continues to this day.

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to: **CanadasHistory.ca/tradingpost**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to: **hbcheritage.ca**.

CAPTAIN COOK'S CANADA

He mapped much of our coastline, yet Captain James Cook receives little recognition as a founder of our country.

by Barry Gough



As for Resolution, an oil on canvas painting by contemporary artist Robin Brooks of Captain James Cook's second voyage to circumnavigate the globe.

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In today's age of Google Earth and the Global Positioning System, the age of discovery and of exploration seems a most distant past, and the Canada of that era seems a faraway country. Like Sir John Franklin's bones, that phase of our history seems frozen in time. It was an age of imperishable importance to Canada's history, but haunting questions remain. How, for one, did the coasts and waters of Canada first come to be placed on the maps of the world? And why do we claim the area of Canada as our own?

Part of the answer to these questions is found in the work of Captain James Cook. Cook was arguably the most famous seagoing explorer of his age, or of any other age. His remarkable life invites us to claim him as a founder of Canada, for he touched all of our temperate, non-icebound coasts.

New Zealanders claim James Cook as one of their most famous discoverers; Australians rightly do likewise. In the United States, Alaskans and the peoples of Hawaii acknowledge Cook's pre-eminence. In Canada, though, James Cook fails to stand centre stage. He somehow stands on the margins of the great events. Even though the sea sounds throughout Canada's history, the accounts of its great mariners seem to be placed in a special category largely excluded from the main story. Even so, Cook sailed in what are now Canadian waters at that magical epoch in our history that lies between the fall of the French empire in North America and the rise of American independence. No more torrid time exists in Canada's history, for the tides of empire were swirling round our shores, and the boundaries of North America were being adjusted on account of military victory or defeat in the fields and seas of battle.

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A painting of James Cook by Nathaniel Dance-Holland, circa 1800. The portrait was commissioned by botanist Joseph Banks, who praised it as an excellent likeness.

While First Nations knew the lands and the waterways of what we now call Canada long before Cook and other explorers, by the second half of the eighteenth century a new mentality was driving discovery. This understanding was based upon empirical science. All of a sudden, longitude properly measured by astronomical sighting and lunar distances, and computed using the tables of the *Nautical Almanac* or otherwise determined by the chronometer, allowed scientific man to record on paper a number of dots that, when joined together, could provide a useful means of safe navigation. Hydrographic surveying — the making of charts and sailing directions — is arguably the greatest legacy of the British imperial age. Captain Cook stood at the surging forefront of that new scientific era.

The strides made by the British in northern North America between 1758 and 1778 were greater than any they took thereafter in that area. The essential dimensions of modern Canada were set down in the precise years James Cook was engaged on his surveys. From the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and those of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec, to the western rim of what became British Columbia, Cook had a hand in creating charts and in delineating imperial space. Even in his sailing to High Arctic waters, through the Bering Sea to Icy Cape, Alaska, he indicated what Canada's northwesterly limits might be.

If we probe Cook's actions, we always find some specific British imperial intent. His activities in Halifax and Louisbourg in 1758 were for the military purpose of ousting the French from dominant positions in northern North America. In his survey of the St. Lawrence River we see this same purpose, specifically to conquer Quebec and bring Canada under British control. In his surveys of Newfoundland and Labrador waters we discern how Cook's buoys and markers separated French fisheries and shore establishments from those of the British. On the west coast of Canada we find his use of Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, as a place of refreshment and repair for ships and crews for the imperial purpose of finding a Northwest Passage in high latitudes.

Many a biographer of Captain Cook has marvelled at how a man of humble birth achieved so much. His training, experience, dedication, and reliance, and his physical health and mental capacities, were all attractive qualities to his superiors. He was considered trustworthy, a reliable

A View of the Launching Place Above the Town of Quebec, Describing the Assault of the Enemy, 13 September, 1759, **a painting by Francis Swaine after a sketch by Hervey Smyth, circa 1763.**

servant for imperial requirements. He was a skilled and tough sailor, capable of long years at sea and in command of officers and men of a ship's company working under the Articles of War. His concern for the health of seamen, and his knowledge of antiscorbutics — including the brewing of spruce beer — to prevent scurvy made possible the manning of his ships in the most difficult of circumstances. Plainly put, he was one of the great mariners of the ages.

Unfortunately, little is known of Cook's inner life. In what may be classified as one of the historical disasters of all time, his wife, Elizabeth Batts Cook, who lived in Mile End, east London, and bore six children in the marriage, burned his letters home after his death. Those letters might have given us a better chance of describing the inner thoughts and personality of the seaman's seaman. Who is to know why she destroyed these testaments of global voyaging?

What we do know is that James Cook was the son of an agricultural labourer in Marston-in-Cleveland, North Yorkshire. Born in 1728, he grew to be over six feet tall, with rough features. He was in all a powerful fellow. From childhood he learned how to fend for himself. He had come under the influence of the Quakers, particularly John Walker, a shipowner from Whitby, and had become not only a common seaman but also a master's mate and then a mate — skippering coal vessels from Whitby into the Thames River.

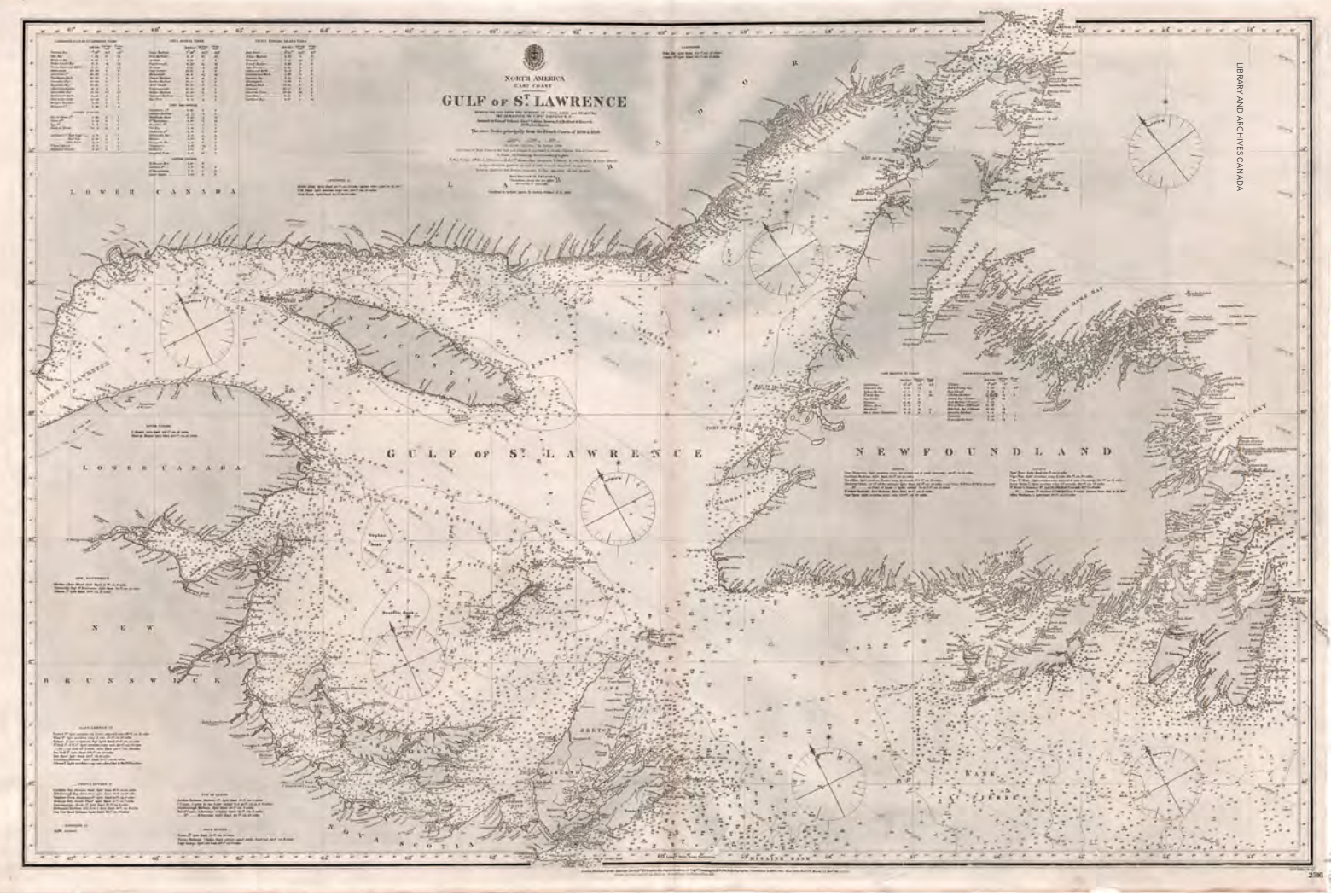
In 1755 Cook traded a promising career in the merchant marine for what was arguably a more profitable one in the Royal Navy. Signed on as able seaman, he was soon detailed to be the master of HMS *Northumberland* and then HMS *Pembroke*. In 1758 he found himself for the first time in what are now Canadian waters as he participated in the British attack on the French fortress of Louisbourg on Île Royale (now known as Cape Breton).

While at Louisbourg, the now thirty-year-old master seaman had the opportunity to learn new skills that would serve him well in his career. It was there that he met Lieutenant Samuel Holland, a Dutch-born surveyor in the British Army who showed Cook how to use an important surveying device known as the plane table.

Subsequently, the *Pembroke* was sent to raid and destroy French settlements in the Bay of Gaspé, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the entrance to the river, in the northern part of what is now New Brunswick. It was while on this assignment that Cook made his first chart; it was of Gaspé Bay and would be the first of hundreds of charts that would bear his name.

On November 19, his ship anchored at Halifax. There, according to Holland, he and Cook compiled a new and comprehensive chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and St. Lawrence River during the winter. This new information would have been useful data to add to the published charts available to the Royal Navy for the planned 1759 assault on Quebec.

After the fall of Louisbourg, the British objective was to take the great fortress of Quebec. The plan called for two separate but conjoint attacks, one from Lake George in present-day New York State, the other up the St. Lawrence. The latter was commanded by Major-General James Wolfe. With an army numbering 8,500, plus artillery and six companies of American Rangers, safe passage into and



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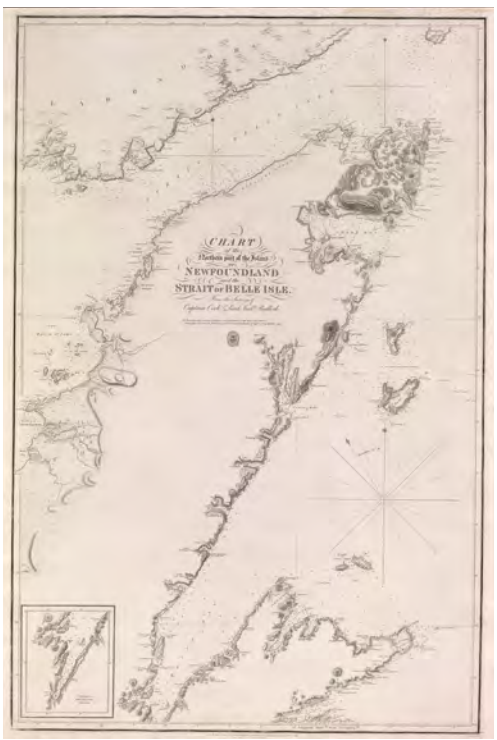

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up the river was essential. The whole operation depended on the fleet of two hundred ships to get the amphibious force to the narrows at Quebec as quickly as possible and, concurrently, to deny the enemy the use of the river. Twice — in 1690 and 1711 — the dangers of river navigation had foiled British attacks.

On the 5th of May in 1759, Cook was on board HMS *Pembroke* as part of an advance squadron sailing from Halifax for the Gulf of St. Lawrence and then up the river to Quebec through six hundred kilometres of fog and ice floes. With help from captured French river pilots, who provided useful information, Cook and others sounded the main channels and prepared surveys of the river just below Quebec. The task of completing a draft of the first English chart of the St. Lawrence was completed by June 8. It was a huge undertaking requiring twelve sheets altogether, each measuring 0.76 metres by 2.2 metres.

The charting of the river was a major accomplishment that allowed the fleet commanded by Admiral Sir Charles Saunders to move upriver in complete safety.

When the Royal Navy arrived to anchor below Quebec, Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, the French commander at Quebec, who had deplored French charts and sailing directions of the river and gulf, said acidly to one of his brigadiers, "Well at least now we will have an accurate chart of the river."

This chart was not yet fully complete. The particulars of inshore waters were not yet available, resulting in two transport ships becoming grounded on boulders. Also, landing parties on the night of June 18–19 suffered considerable losses in what General James Wolfe grumbled to be "this foolish business." Even so, the successful survey of the river helped the British take Quebec — its surrender was achieved September 13. The following year came the capitulation of Montreal. Once again British sea power was the decisive factor in isolating the French empire in North America.

France made one last attempt to regain its presence in North America when it sent a force to capture St. John's, Newfoundland, from the British in June of 1762. James Cook was once again on the scene. As master of HMS *Northumberland* he sailed to St. John's in September 1762 to help recapture the town from the

In large measure this was curtain-up on a scene never before revealed to Europe's eyes. The inhabitants of Nootka did not understand what the strange vessels were.

French. Cook then spent a few months surveying several Newfoundland ports, compiling sailing directions, and making remarks for mariners on where they could safely anchor and take on wood and water.

Cook's work clearly impressed his commanding officer, Commodore Lord Colvill, who did not hesitate to recommend Cook to the Lords of the Admiralty. "From my experience of Mr. Cook's genius and capacity," he said to their lordships in December 1762, "I think him well fitted for the work he has undertaken, and for greater undertakings of the same kind." This was high praise. It also coincided with the need of a survey of Newfoundland waters — both to encourage the part of the fishery that was in British hands and to keep a stealthy eye out for French intruders. Encouraging shipping in and out of the St. Lawrence was an additional intent. The Admiralty thus appointed Cook to spend the next seven summers doing a long and arduous survey of Newfoundland and the adjacent Labrador coast.

By 1767 Cook had completed his Newfoundland survey, and what a triumph it was for science and commercial advantage. Cook's work allowed Newfoundland waters to be opened to further British exploitation, and in consequence the number of British fishing and trading vessels in those waters increased. The surveys also gave the British an advantage when quarrels with the French ensued about who had what rights and where.

In the course of his 1766 work Cook caught the attention of the British Admiralty by observing a solar eclipse and using it to pinpoint Newfoundland's latitude. The Admiralty wanted to send a ship to the South Pacific to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, and to look for the fabled Terra Australis Incognita, too. The Admiralty had visions of the fabled Pacific as a place of unbridled wealth and future settlement. They were not alone in this; the French, too, had ambitions in the South Pacific.

The chivalrous Louis-Antoine de Bougainville claimed Tahiti for France in 1766 and then sailed for Samoa, New Britain, Vanuatu, and other points east, the first such circumnavigation under the fleur-de-lys. By the time Bougainville's crews were enjoying the sexual freedom of the Society Islands and the commander was planning his homeward route, the British government had appointed Lieutenant Cook to command a collier known as the *Endeavour*, which carried a scientific party of twelve to Tahiti to study the transit of Venus.

Thus was born the first of three substantial voyages James Cook led to the Pacific. A whole new world of the vast Pacific Ocean and its islands and peoples was opened to view. The rivalry with France lay at the ghostly margins and is often forgotten by historians.

Upon the conclusion of his second voyage in 1775, Cook well might have remained in London with his wife and family. He had been recently appointed a captain at Greenwich Hospital, with what amounted to a pension. He had achieved prominence in the Royal Navy, the Royal Society, and British scientific circles, notably for his astronomical and navigational expertise. His measures for preventing scurvy at sea had given him additional recognition and respect. Prize medals and justifiable acclaim had come his way. He could have stayed ashore. But such was not his makeup. In 1774, he had written of himself that he "had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for a man to go."

For the British the only really unknown oceanic space was the North Pacific Ocean and its remarkable horseshoe-shaped littoral linking Asia with America and split only by the Bering Strait leading to the Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean. In that vast quarter of the world, the Russians posed the biggest threat to any British pretensions at trade and territory. At every turn James Cook was aware, admiringly so, of the navigational pre-eminence of Vitus Bering, the Russian Columbus, in opening those waters to European science.

The mission of Cook's third voyage was to find, if it existed, a Pacific opening to the Northwest Passage. Russian charts suggested an opening in 65 degrees north latitude, and that is what Cook decided to pursue.

Cook thought little of Juan de Fuca's 1592 claim of discovering a strait that led to the Northwest Passage at around 47 degrees north latitude. In fact, Cook let his doubts get in the way of inquiring into whether the strait actually existed. He unknowingly sailed past the entrance to what was later named Juan de Fuca Strait off Vancouver Island. Though good reasons exist for this — very heavy weather, gales, and steep seas on an uncharted coast — Cook's dismissal of the idea of a strait or passage there smacked of arrogance and took later British explorers off the track.

James Cook also had not known that Nootka was on a larger island, Vancouver Island. In large measure, this distant northwest coast was the world's best-kept secret, for it had immense timber and mineral resources, excellent harbours, and First Nations who were agreeable to trade and bore no hostility to newcomers. The great sea resources of this area — whales, fish, and, above all, sea otter pelts — were the inducement for future voyagers to visit Nootka and to use it as a base of summertime ship repair and construction as well as for security from rough seas and offshore winds.

Cook sailed in the *Resolution* and *Discovery* from the Hawaiian Islands and at long last sighted the high and snow-clad coast of what was then called New Albion on March 7, 1778. Sailing north, passing the entrance of Juan de Fuca Strait, he was urgently looking for a place to take on wood and water when he landed at Nootka on March 29, 1778.

Left: Maps of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence based largely on charts produced by James Cook.

In large measure this was curtain-up on a scene never before revealed to Europe's eyes. The inhabitants of Nootka did not understand what the strange vessels were. Oral tradition among the Mowachat holds that they spied one sailor with a hooked nose and another who was a hunchback. They identified them, in turn, with the dog salmon and the humpback salmon, an indication of their fish-like origins. They thought Cook's ship to be "a fish come alive into people" and, consequently, grew cautious. A chief told them to go out to the ships again and to try to understand what the newcomers wanted and what they were after. They did so, and Cook's crew gave them ship biscuits. The Mowachat decided that the whites must be friendly and that they, in turn, should welcome the strangers. Thus they gestured, all the while telling Captain Cook, *"Nootka, Itchme Nootka, Itchme"* — meaning "you go round the harbour."

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

***Captain Cook meets the West Coast Indians at Nootka, 1778*, a watercolour by Charles William Jefferys (1869–1951).**

Cook's men were understandably anxious, not knowing the navigation, for the water they tried unsuccessfully to sound with their plumb bobs was extremely deep in these channels. Moreover, the day was drawing on, and the ships needed to be secured for the night, away, for precautionary measures, from the village. This last was Yuquot, "where the wind blows," the summer village that was situated on the southern promontory of Nootka Island, within the entrance. For this reason a cove of safety was selected. It was named Ship Cove, and is now known as Resolution Cove.

A young master's mate named William Bligh, who later attracted much notoriety on account of the mutiny on the *Bounty*, conducted a survey of Bligh Island and vicinity. Other surveyors, including Henry Roberts, took up the task, and by the end of four weeks a reasonably accurate survey had been completed. An engraving of it was published in Cook's voyage account, completed and published in an authorized edition in 1784. That engraved chart and the grand chart compiled from various sources by Roberts of the Northwest Coast and the North Pacific are prized collectors' items these days.

The number of First Nations people who came to trade increased as word spread that the ships were in harbour. Cook's account gives plenty of information, much of it startlingly new. Here is an example from Cook's *Voyage*: "But we received most benefit from such of the natives as visited us daily. These, after disposing of all their little trifles, turned their attention to fishing and we never failed to partake of what they caught. We also got from these people a considerable quantity of very good animal oil, which they had reserved in bladders. In this traffic some would attempt to cheat us by mixing water with the oil; and, once or twice, they had the address to carry their imposition so far as to fill their bladders with mere water, without a single drop of oil. It was always better to bear with these tricks than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; for our articles of traffic consisted for the most part of mere trifles; and yet we were put to our shifts to find a constant supply even of these. Beads, and such other toys, of which I had still some left, were in little estimation. Nothing would go down with our visitors but metal."

Cook goes on to relate that brass had supplanted iron as the preference of the Nootka people. So eagerly sought was brass that hardly a bit of it was left in the ships, except that belonging to the instruments of navigation. "Whole suits were stripped of every [brass] button; bureaus of their furniture [hardware]; and copper kettles, tin canisters, candlesticks, and the like, all went to wreck."

James Cook's detailed observations at Nootka Sound carry weight even today, for they have been used in courts of law to support First Nations land claims. His notes were cited in a successful case known as Meares Island, 1988. "Here I must observe," Cook wrote, "that I have no where met with Indians who had such high notions of every thing the Country produced being their exclusive property as these; the very wood and water we took on board they at first wanted us to pay for, and we had certainly done it, had I been upon the spot when the demands were made; but as I never happened to be there the workmen took but little notice of their importunities and at last they ceased applying. But made a Merit of necessity and frequently afterwards told us they had given us Wood and Water out of friendship."

Cook's journals, and those of his contemporaries, have tended to prove the existence of Aboriginal rights: in particular, that these First Nations were an organized society as evidenced by their government, language, religion, places of occupation, villages and buildings, and art and handicrafts. That they occupied the west coast of the island to the exclusion of other organized societies was beyond doubt, and they had done so long before assertion of British sovereignty by the Nootka Convention of 1790.

In short, Aboriginal rights on the west coast of Vancouver Island had not been extinguished. Nor is there evidence in Cook's journals that the Nootka voluntarily surrendered any land to the captain or any of his officers.

Cook eventually left Friendly Cove at Yuquot to attend

to the real focus of his mission — finding a Northwest Passage. Before long, Cook's ships were in the area of Cook Inlet, southeastern Alaska, near where Anchorage is today. Cook explored as far as he could up what he called "Cook's River," and at Point Turnagain he reversed his course, then headed for places like Prince William Sound, Shumagin Islands, and Unalaska, and then north again to Bristol Bay, through Bering Strait, and even as high in latitude as Icy Cape, above 70 degrees north. No Northwest Passage presented itself.

Cook returned to Hawaii for food, rest, and repair in late 1778. There, in an extraordinary set of circumstances, in which Cook was largely blameless, he was killed by Hawaiians at Kealakekua Bay, the Big Island of Hawaii, on February 14, 1779.

His weather-beaten vessels, four years at sea, arrived back in Britain the following year. Their crews recounted the final testimony of the famed captain and of others who had died. But the most remarkable fact of all was that only seven men had died from sickness, and not one from scurvy.

In death, as in life, many accolades came Cook's way. Novelist Fanny Burney, sister of historian James Burney, who sailed with Cook on all three voyages to the Pacific, called Cook "the most moderate, humane, and gentle navigator who ever went upon discoveries."

Others of his own time, his peers such as the biographer James Boswell and Sir John Pringle, the president of the Royal Society, said he was plain, sensible, and attentive to veracity. Others labelled him as cool, courageous, vigilant, active, resolved, humane, patient, and unaffected.

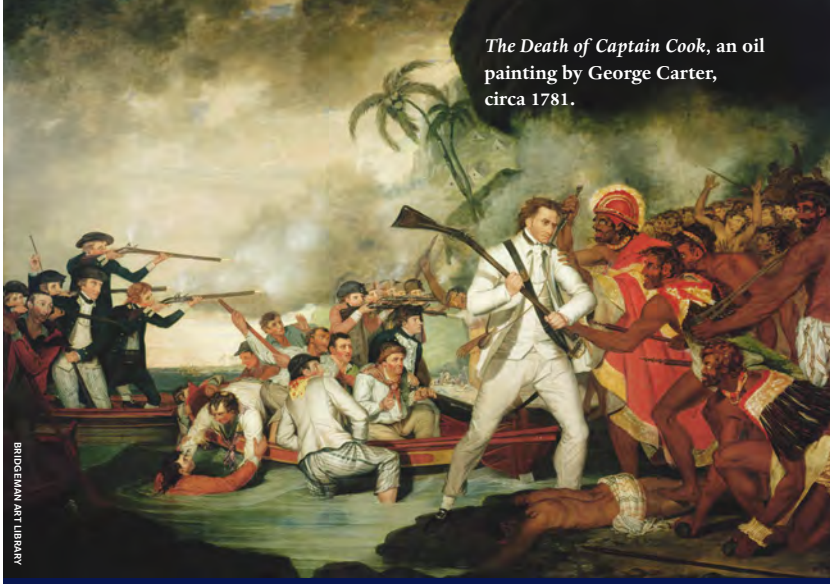
For Cook's wife, of course, his death came as quite a shock. She was at home in Mile End, embroidering a waistcoat of Tahitian cloth for her husband, when she received news of the death. She had imagined that he would wear the waistcoat at court. This daughter of a dockside tavern keeper, who had married one of the greats of the age, for the rest of her life wore a cameo ring containing a lock of her late husband's hair.

Having lost a promising retirement alongside her husband at Greenwich Hospital, Elizabeth Cook pressed upon officials in high places to ensure that she received the royalties from a fast-selling published history of Cook's last voyage.

Eventually she received half the royalties, plus a pension and a footman. She moved to Clapham, a wealthier area of London. After outliving all of their children, she kindly left part of her estate to six poor widows of Clapham. She died aged ninety-three and was buried beside her sons in Cambridge.

James Cook had no descendants, but he left a lasting legacy. He set new standards of the highest order in his line of work. As the statue to the resolute navigator that stands beside Admiralty Arch in London says, Cook "traversed the gates of Canada both east and west." That's a memorial enough for any person, and it places him prominently in Canada's annals.

Find out more about James Cook's travels along the West Coast at CanadasHistory.ca/Cook.



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***The Death of Captain Cook*, an oil painting by George Carter, circa 1781.**

COOK'S DEATH

On February 14, 1779, Captain James Cook's life came to an ignoble end in Hawaii when he was killed in a dispute with native islanders at Kealakekua Bay. Historians have differing views about what took place and who was at fault. Some regard Cook as having been killed while trying to make peace, while others view Cook as a heavy-handed aggressor.

Witnesses who wrote of the incident later said Cook's ships — the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* — were plagued by thefts. When a cutter boat was stolen from the *Discovery*, it was the last straw.

According to midshipman James Burney, the next morning Cook gave orders to not allow islanders' large canoes to leave the harbour. He and a party of marines then landed at the town of Ka'awaloa with the intention of taking Hawaiian King Kalei'opu'u hostage until the boat was returned.

As Cook's party was coming ashore, the men in one of the boats guarding the harbour fired shots at some canoes that were attempting to leave the area. A chief was killed. When news of this reached the village where Cook had landed, tensions grew. Hoping to prevent more conflict, Cook released King Kalei'opu'u. But a few of the islanders attacked. Cook and his men fired on the islanders while retreating to their landing boats. Cook died after being clubbed and stabbed. Four marines and seventeen Hawaiians also died in the encounter.

"The whole of the Affair, from Capt'n. Cook's leaving the *Resolution* to the return of the Boats, happened in the Short space of one Hour," Burney wrote in his account.

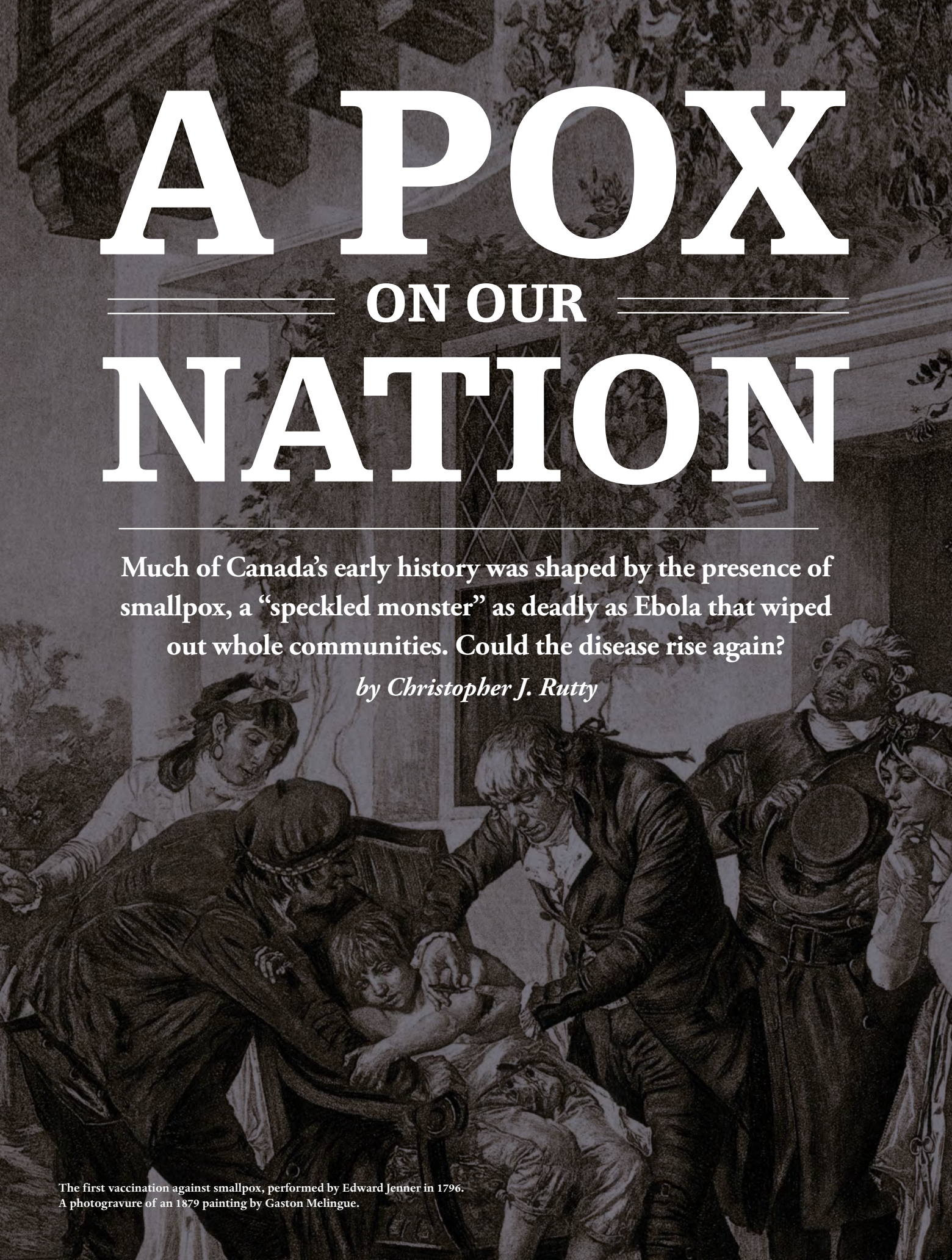
Another account, by ship surgeon David Samwell, suggests that it was all an accident: "This most melancholy accident, appears to have been altogether unexpected and unforeseen, as well on the part of the natives as ourselves."

— Nelle Oosterom

A POX ON OUR NATION

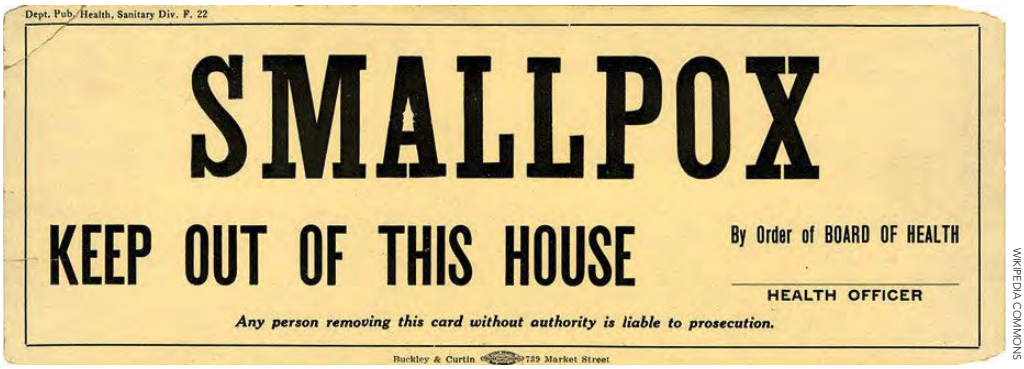
Much of Canada's early history was shaped by the presence of smallpox, a "speckled monster" as deadly as Ebola that wiped out whole communities. Could the disease rise again?

by Christopher J. Rutty



The first vaccination against smallpox, performed by Edward Jenner in 1796. A photogravure of an 1879 painting by Gaston Melingue.

NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES


Dept. Pub. Health, Sanitary Div. F. 22
SMALLPOX
KEEP OUT OF THIS HOUSE
By Order of BOARD OF HEALTH
HEALTH OFFICER
Any person removing this card without authority is liable to prosecution.
Buckley & Curtin 739 Market Street

WIKIPEDIA COMMONS

Above: A quarantine poster warns that a home is contaminated by smallpox, circa 1910.

It's been more than nine decades since Canada had its last brush with a deadly smallpox epidemic. When the dreaded disease broke out in southwestern Ontario's Windsor region in early 1924, almost half of the sixty-seven people who contracted the illness died. Doctors were taken by surprise and at first failed to identify it. Canada had not seen such a serious smallpox epidemic since 1885, when the illness swept Montreal, killing 3,154 people.

"Today we have no conception of the meaning of the word 'smallpox,'" wrote Dr. John Heagerty of Canada's Federal Public Health Service in a booklet published shortly after the Windsor outbreak. "For us the word has been robbed of its terrors, and we discuss the problem of smallpox in the community in a general and academic way."

But the illness was hardly academic to those who were stricken. The Windsor outbreak in January was traced to the home of furniture mover Gordon Deneau. None of the four doctors who saw Deneau initially recognized his ailment as a particularly virulent form of hemorrhagic (bloody) smallpox. After Deneau's death, more people became sick. Five members of his immediate family died. Once doctors knew what they were dealing with, measures were quickly put in place. Patients were quarantined, and within a week most of the seventy thousand people in the Windsor area were vaccinated, effectively stopping the epidemic in its tracks. "All deaths which occurred were of unvaccinated persons," reported Toronto's *Globe* in March 1924. "The only persons who attended the funeral of Deneau and escaped infection were those vaccinated."

In pre-vaccine days, noted Heagerty, "the word 'smallpox' blanched the cheek and brought a look of terror to the eyes. Smallpox in those days meant death. Relentless and insatiate, the disease would sweep through a community mowing down all those who had not already suffered from it; killing, maiming, and leaving its victims blinded or disfigured for life." Moreover, "it played a part of no little importance in the political history of Canada in the early days."

Although officially eradicated in 1979, smallpox remains a threat today, either as a potential bioterrorist weapon or as a virus inadvertently resurrected. In recent years scientists have speculated that the virus could spread from the frozen bodies of eighteenth-century victims of the disease that thaw as global warming melts the Siberian permafrost. Thus it's worth giving the subject of smallpox some thought today.

Smallpox began to shape Canada's political history in 1616 when the disease struck the Aboriginal population living near Tadoussac, France's first North American fur-trading post. The disease had been unknown to the First Nations, who had no natural immunity, and this population would become highly vulnerable to its deadly power.

However, there is more to the first chapters of the Canadian smallpox story than its devastating impact on the indigenous population. During the pre-Confederation era the effects of smallpox varied over time and geography. Its severity, spread, control, and ultimate prevention through quarantine and immunization were shaped by many factors. French and British settlers, and the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, all had different political and economic goals and cultural perspectives that affected how they responded to smallpox.

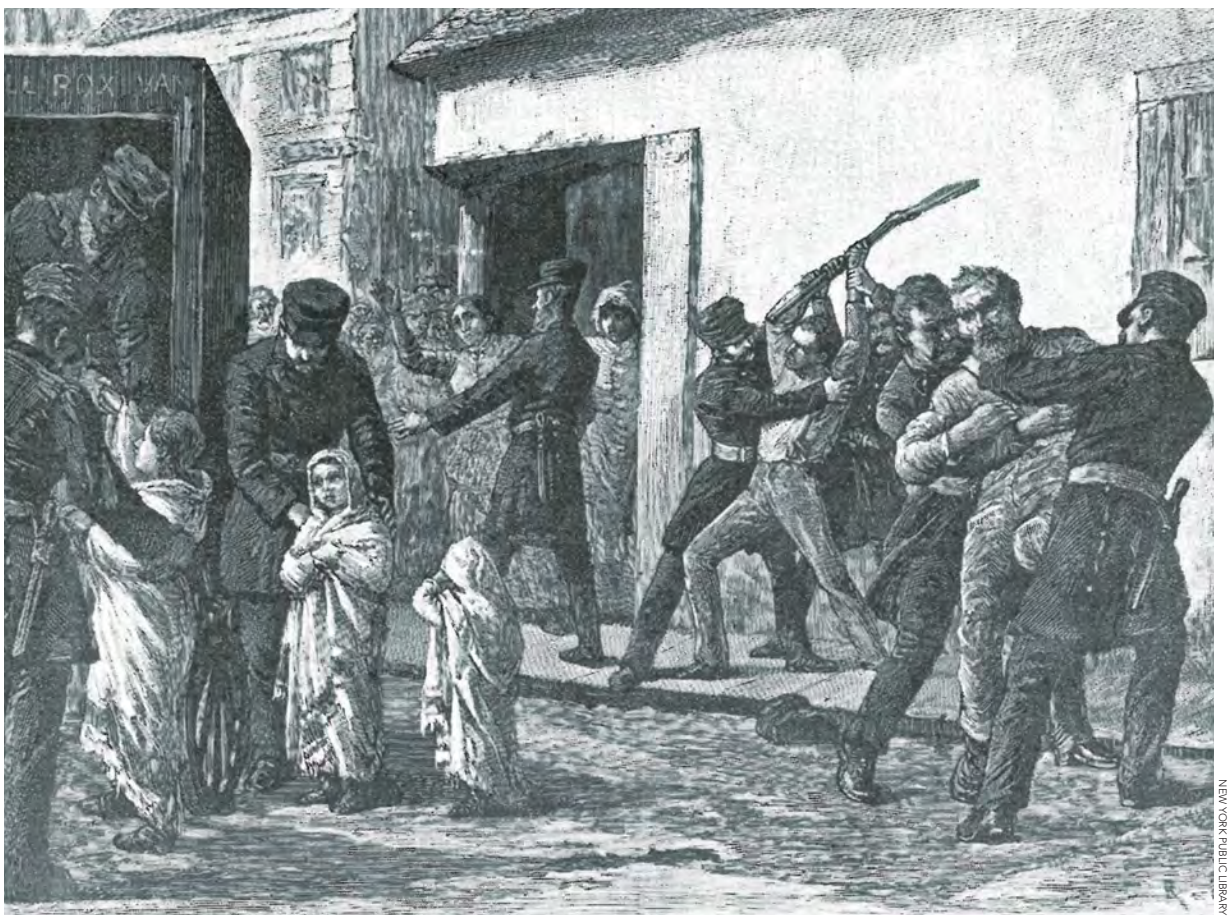
MCCORD MUSEUM

Characterized as the "speckled monster," smallpox first emerged as a pandemic disease threat in ancient East Asia and then spread through the Middle East, India, Africa, and Europe. It is an acute, contagious, self-limiting, and naturally immunizing infectious disease caused by two virus types — *Variola major* and the less severe *Variola minor*.

The virus spreads through infected droplets and contact with infectious rashes and blisters. It starts with flu-like symptoms — such as fever, cough, aching joints — then proceeds to rashes and blisters that appear first inside the mouth and then on the skin, starting on the face and spreading down the body. The blisters rupture, spew pus, and eventually crust over, leaving permanent scarring. In severe *Variola major* cases the virus attacks the vital systems of the body, including the eyes, leading to serious complications, such as blindness, and often death. The mortality rate generally ranges between thirty and thirty-five per cent but can be much higher, as it was in Windsor in 1924. Those who survive receive lifelong immunity.

The earliest reported smallpox epidemic in the western hemisphere struck in the West Indies in 1507, likely introduced by Spanish sailors. The Spanish importation of African slaves who were infected with smallpox intensified the impact of the disease, as did the fact that the indigenous people of what today is known as Latin America tended to be concentrated in cities. Thus, smallpox spread rapidly, with devastating results.

Remarkably, smallpox would not be introduced north of what is today Mexico for another century. French and British settlers brought the disease to the fledgling New France and New England colonies, followed by Dutch traders who would inadvertently spread it north and west. At the time about three million Aboriginals lived north of Mexico in populations that, unlike their counterparts further south,


NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Above: *Montreal's Night-Mayor on his Ghostly Rounds*, a satirical drawing by Henri Julien that mocks the city's public health organization, circa 1875.

Right: A sketch of Montreal's 1885 smallpox epidemic by Robert Harris shows resistance to police who are forcibly quarantining smallpox victims.

were mostly nomadic and thinly spread.

From the St. Lawrence River trading post of Tadoussac in 1616, the disease soon spread to other tribes in the Maritimes, James Bay, and Great Lakes regions. At about the same time, smallpox arrived with British settlers in the Boston Bay area, soon eliminating almost ninety per cent of the local Massachusetts tribes of the Algonquin nation. From the Puritans' perspective, this was divine providence, since it cleared the way for settlement. "For the natives, they are all near dead of the smallpox, so the Lord hath cleared our title to what we possess," declared local Governor John Winthrop in a 1634 letter.

While British settlers would establish an antagonistic relationship with Aboriginals through an increasingly violent clash over land, Dutch traders were drawn into a close economic relationship with indigenous tribes that attracted traders north and west towards the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, unknowingly bringing smallpox with them. During the 1630s nearly every tribe in the Great Lakes region was affected by smallpox, and by 1636 the population of the Huron north of Lake Ontario had been reduced by half after a four-year epidemic.

The Huron blamed French Jesuit missionaries for the plague. The Jesuits may have been responsible for some spread of the disease, but most of them would have been immune from previous exposure in France.

A *Jesuit Relations* entry from 1637 explains how one outbreak got started: "It was upon the return from the journey which the Hurons made to 'Kebec' that it started in the country — our Hurons, while again on their way up here, having thoughtlessly mixed with the Algonquins, whom they met on the route, most of whom were infected with smallpox. The first Huron who introduced it came ashore at the foot of our house, newly built on the bank of a lake — being carried thence to his own village, but a league distant from us, he straightaway died."

Unlike the English and Dutch settlers and traders, the French missionaries did their best to care for the stricken Hurons. But they could do little as the Huron, weakened by disease, became more vulnerable to attack by their Iroquois rivals. By 1650 the Huron had ceased to exist as a nation in their territory. Survivors either joined the Iroquois or took refuge in Quebec.

During the balance of the seventeenth century, smallpox was present among the Aboriginal population as it spread over half of North America, taken in all directions as whole tribes fled in terror during epidemics. The speckled monster would also play a major role in shaping the course and outcome of wars between the English and French for control of North America.

In 1690, for example, an invading army of New England troops and their First Nations allies were planning a siege of Montreal and Quebec via Lake Champlain when smallpox outbreaks struck as the sailing forces landed near Quebec. Smallpox also spread among a marching land force while it approached Montreal, leaving hundreds of soldiers dead from the disease.

Yet smallpox did not play favourites; it similarly sabotaged an ambitious French plan in 1746 to recapture

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

A smallpox victim in Prince Edward Island, circa 1909.

Louisbourg and Annapolis and also attack the English settlements along the east coast. The plan involved troops from New France and a large force sailing from France to join up at Chebucto in present-day Nova Scotia. During the ninety-day voyage the French fleet lost 1,270 men to disease and shipwreck, and then it lost another 1,130 after landing at Chebucto. Local Mi'kmaq who were drawn to Chebucto for supplies quickly became infected, resulting in an epidemic that left more than a third of the tribe dead.

It has been suggested that smallpox was used as a biological weapon against First Nations, especially during the 1750s and 1760s in the midst of the wars between the English and the French. There certainly was some thought of doing so.

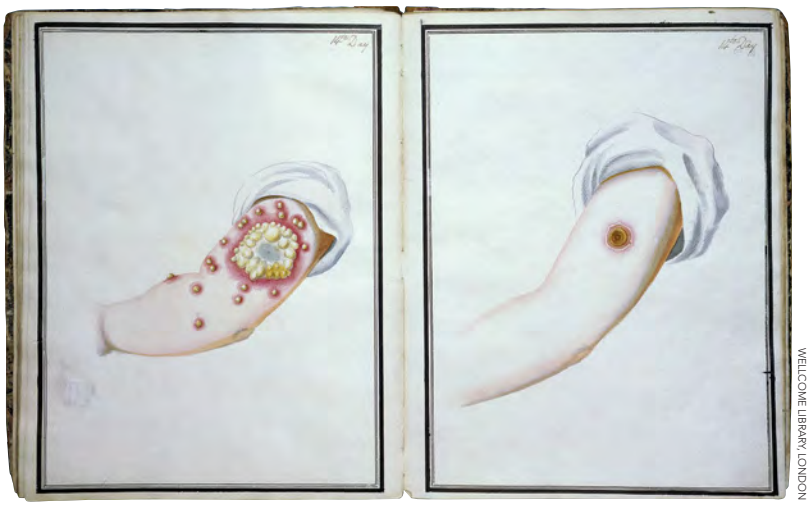
It started in 1757, when a French force led by Louis-Joseph de Montcalm attacked Fort William Henry in what is now New York State. After taking the fort, Montcalm's Aboriginal allies attacked the English soldiers who had given up and were leaving the fort. And, despite Montcalm's efforts to stop them, the warriors also plundered the fort, which was unsanitary and rife with smallpox. When the illness later broke out among the First Nations, it appeared to them to be an act of retribution by the English.

According to Montcalm, "fortunately they [the Indians] had frequently declared in the different councils held at Michilimackinac and Detroit that the English had thrown that medicine [smallpox] on the Indians which they might have turned aside if they had been willing to believe the French General and not plunder the baggage of the English."

There was definitely contempt for the First Nations among the English after what happened at Fort William Henry. Not long after, the idea of using smallpox as a weapon came up as a postscript in correspondence between British military leader Jeffrey Amherst and one of

Smallpox among First Nations was of considerable concern to the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company as they expanded westward.

his colonels, "Could it not be contrived to send the smallpox among those disaffected Indians?" wrote Amherst. In a reply to Amherst dated in July 1763, Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote, "I will try to inoculate them with some blankets that may fall in their hands and take care not to get the disease myself." While it is possible to spread the disease through blankets or other articles contaminated with fresh scabs from smallpox victims, there is no evidence that such plans were ever deliberately carried out.



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An 1802 watercolour drawing by G. Kirtland shows the effects of smallpox variolation, left, and immunization with cowpox vaccine, right.

Meanwhile, the English also accused Montcalm of using smallpox as a weapon. They claimed that Montcalm tried to spread the disease among the British by sending the prisoners of Fort William Henry to Halifax on a ship on which smallpox had broken out.

Soon after the British conquest of New France in 1763, a new biological weapon emerged in the smallpox war. This weapon was known as smallpox variolation — a method of preventing the disease by exposing people to it in a controlled manner. Variolation originated in eleventh-century China and India and was based on the observation that most people who contracted smallpox never caught it again. It appeared that if a person became infected through a scratch they developed a much less severe form of the disease than those who were infected by the more usual oral route of the virus. By the mid-eighteenth century, variolation was widely used in Europe, although there was significant resistance to it, as it often failed to work.

Variolation was first used in British-held Quebec in 1765, and by 1769 a concerted immunization effort had been launched among the prominent English and French families in Montreal and Quebec and also most of the British troops stationed in the colony.

The Thirteen Colonies were much slower to take up variolation, however. There were religious concerns about the practice interfering with God's providence — the same providence that had cleared the land for the English settlers by killing off the indigenous people. There was also medical and scientific mistrust about the method's safety and effectiveness. Thus, variolation was severely restricted or banned in most of the Thirteen Colonies. This proved to be a disadvantage when the American Revolution broke out in 1775.

British troops and Canadians north of the St. Lawrence River were significantly more immune to smallpox than the revolutionaries to the south. And, while General George Washington attempted to variolate his troops in the Boston area in 1775, the effort proved to be too little, too late. When he launched his attack on Quebec in July 1775, smallpox broke out among Washington's troops; yet the disease did not affect the immunized British forces, forcing Washington's men to retreat hastily. It was clear that smallpox played a major role in saving Canada for the British Empire.

Variolation also benefited the Aboriginal population of British North America. British colonial authorities allowed the Mohawk living near the Kingston area of Upper Canada to be variolated starting in 1796. Smallpox immunization through variolation would continue in British North America until the 1850s, although this method would be supplanted by smallpox immunization through vaccination, a more effective approach to preventing the disease that was developed by Edward Jenner in Britain in 1796 and first used in North America shortly thereafter.

Jenner observed that milkmaids rarely had pox-marked skin and discovered that exposure to a mild cowpox infection (*vacca* is Latin for cow) effectively immunized people against smallpox. Although not the first to make this observation, Jenner was the first to collect the cowpox-infected material from the skin of calves to prepare a "vaccine" and then to clearly demonstrate that the inoculation of a healthy person protected them from the disease during a smallpox outbreak.

British North American Aboriginals quickly benefited from smallpox vaccination and were enthusiastic about its value. The first were vaccinated in 1803 after travelling hundreds of kilometres to receive it. In 1807, Jenner personally sent a supply of smallpox vaccine to the Five Nations Indians at Fort George along with the formal gift of his book about vaccination to help explain how it worked. The chief of the Five Nations Indians received the gift with great appreciation and wrote back to thank Jenner. "We send with this a belt and string of Wampum in token of our acceptance of your precious gift, and we beseech the Great Spirit to take care of you in this world and in the land of spirits."

Smallpox vaccination saved many Canadian Aboriginals, but it would take time for its benefits to be applied evenly. Smallpox continued to be imported from the United States,

A hand-coloured woodcut depicts a smallpox epidemic among the Wampanoags of colonial Massachusetts during the 1600s.

where vaccination was adopted more slowly. And having a sufficient vaccine supply was a major challenge.

Smallpox among First Nations was of considerable concern to the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as they expanded westward. A major epidemic swept across the West from 1780 to 1782, and HBC traders often witnessed its devastating impact. For instance, in the fall of 1781, Mitchell Oman, an HBC fur trader, met a group in the Eagle Hills region of present-day Saskatchewan who had barely survived an attack of smallpox. Looking into their tents, he saw that most were dead. He later reached Fort Buckingham at present-day Elk Point, Alberta, and discovered that "all was solitary silence … there was no Indian to hunt for us … three-fifths had died."

When William Tomison, another HBC trader, arrived at York Factory on Hudson Bay in early July 1782, he confirmed the news of the smallpox epidemic in the interior. He was being followed to the fort by six canoes of Aboriginals carrying their season's furs, but three were ill with smallpox and eventually died. With this news, word was immediately sent to the local First Nations living near York Factory, telling them not to visit the fort. Shortly after, three more Aboriginals ill with smallpox approached from the interior, but they were met before reaching the fort by an HBC trader. They were given food and medicine and were persuaded to set up their camp six kilometres upstream. All three died, but, due to this early quarantine effort, they and the earlier three were the last Aboriginal deaths from smallpox recorded in the York Factory journals, which continued until 1949.

It was a similar story during the epidemic that struck Cumberland House in 1781–82. There, Tomison and his men demonstrated their compassion for the stricken Indians. They took them into their already crowded quarters and provided them with food, shelter, and twenty-four-hour care. They also dug graves in the frozen ground for the fatal cases.

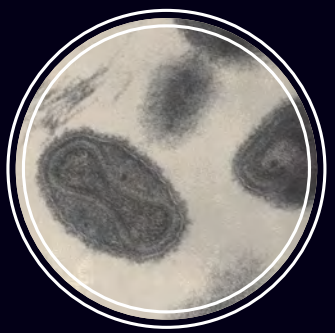
In 1837, a second great smallpox epidemic was imported into the Canadian prairies via the Missouri River. It was caused by the arrival in June of an American Fur Company steamboat in Fort Union, a major fur trade post on the present-day North Dakota-Montana border. A deckhand ill with smallpox was allowed to leave the ship, causing the disease to spread quickly to nearby indigenous people who came to trade at Fort Union.

By September, word of the spread of "some bad disease" reached Dr. William Todd, a surgeon and the HBC chief factor of the Swan River district, near the present-day border of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Todd, who had recently received a fresh supply of vaccine from England, guessed correctly that the disease was smallpox. He immediately vaccinated sixty Aboriginals living in the vicinity of Fort Pelly, and he also taught them the technique of arm-to-arm vaccination, so that they could vaccinate others. In arm-to-arm vaccination, as soon as a cowpox postule appeared on a vaccinated person's arm, material from the lesion was removed and used to vaccinate another person. Todd also sent fresh vaccine to other HBC factors, resulting in the company being able to stem the northward spread of the illness.

Over the next two years, the company took further steps to keep the disease at bay, launching a massive vaccination

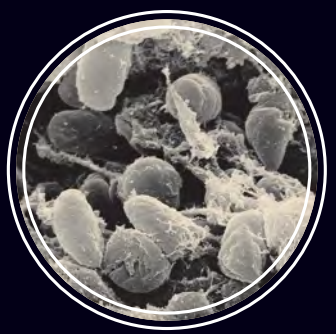
MICROSCOPIC KILLERS

From earliest times it was understood that some illnesses were spread from person to person, but how this happened was a mystery. Bacteria were first observed under the microscope by Dutch scientist Anton van Leeuwenhoek in 1673. In 1762, Viennese physician M.A. Plenciz published a germ theory of disease. A century later the theory was demonstrated by French chemist Louis Pasteur and others. Yet strong opposition to the idea that micro-organisms — such as bacteria, viruses, fungi, and prions — cause disease continued and persists even today.



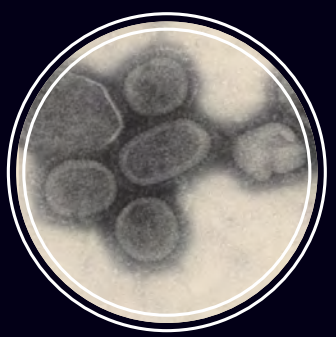
Smallpox

While smallpox was known for centuries, the Variola virus associated with it was not identified until 1906 by Italian pathologist Adelchi Negri. Like other viruses, it can only been seen under an electron microscope.



Bubonic Plague

Known as the dreaded Black Death in medieval times, bubonic plague is an infection caused by the Yersinia pestis bacterium. It is generaly spread by infected rat fleas. Plague still occurs today, but it is treatable with antibiotics.



Spanish Flu

The 1918 influenza epidemic killed about fifty million people worldwide. It involved a deadly strain of the H1N1 virus. In a controversial move, scientists recently reconstructed the viral strain for research purposes.

Ebola

The deadly hemorrhagic illness caused by the Ebola virus was first seen in remote villages in central Africa in 1976. The outbreak in 2014–2015 is the largest to date. Canada has been at the forefront of developing a vaccine.

program with the goal of inoculating every person within its domain. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company ended up serving as the de facto public health agency across western Canada during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The effort would limit the disease to little more than a toehold for several decades. The systematic project was accomplished with relatively little difficulty due to the HBC's efficient transportation systems and organizational structure, something the United States could not match at the time.

It was a sharply different story across the U.S. plains, where limited inoculation efforts were carried out. By the time the 1837 epidemic died out in the winter, several tribes were devastated. The situation changed after 1840, when the U.S. government began a program to vaccinate the surviving Aboriginal population. This effort soon created a situation where the indigenous population was better protected from smallpox than other Americans. In fact, many of the latter refused the vaccine. This, plus conditions exacerbated by the slave trade and the Civil War, fuelled a long series of severe epidemics among non-Aboriginals during the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

There was similar vaccine resistance in Canada during this period, but it was more limited and focused on the French-Canadian community in Quebec. Opposition was driven as much by tensions in English-French relations as by medical concerns. For instance, anglophone factory owners advocated compulsory vaccination for their French-Canadian workers, leading some francophones to view vaccination as a race weapon used by the English against the French.

One prominent doctor, Joseph Emery-Coderre, spoke out strongly against vaccination, in large part because two of his own eleven children had died shortly after being vaccinated. The fact that the city's original vaccination program had to be suspended because of tainted vaccine did not help the cause. Thus, by the time the 1885 epidemic broke out in Montreal, vaccine resistance was at its peak — only about one sixth of the population of that city had been vaccinated.

Further west, in the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, yet another response played out when a major smallpox epidemic struck in 1862–63. The epidemic was introduced after a steamer from San Francisco arrived in Victoria bearing a passenger who had developed smallpox en route. In the absence of clear leadership and authority to control the disease, the ill passenger was allowed to leave the ship, and the disease spread. Smallpox soon reached an area known as the northern encampment, where coastal First Nations had settled. Since they had no previous exposure to smallpox, the illness spread rapidly among them.

The colonists did little other than to express pity for the victims and to press for self-interested measures designed to insulate colonists from the infected Aboriginals. Indeed, not unlike when smallpox first struck in Boston Bay in 1616 and was seen by the British colonists as divine providence that cleared the land for cultivation, many of the Victoria colonists took advantage of the situation to clear the area of Aboriginals. Tsimshian, Songhee, Stikenes, and Haida

people living in the northern encampments were evicted. Those who fled dispersed to their coastal homelands, spreading smallpox further across the two colonies.

Smallpox vaccination was easily available in Victoria and New Westminster, but outside these cities the vaccine was expensive and difficult to obtain. Its application among the indigenous population by missionaries and government officials was sporadic and in most cases was provided too late to do much good.

Efforts were made by Hudson's Bay Company officials based in Fort Rupert to vaccinate more than a hundred indigenous people around the fort. A similar initiative took place around Fort Kamloops. There were also reports of some Aboriginals attempting to vaccinate themselves. Nevertheless, nearly fourteen thousand people, most of them indigenous, died of smallpox on the coast alone.

Ultimately, as historian Robert Boyd has stressed, smallpox "served as a final blow to the Native peoples of British Columbia and paved the way for the colonization of their lands by peoples of European descent."

In the twentieth century, Canadian scientists played significant roles in the World Health Organization's campaign to eradicate the disease from the planet. It was officially declared eradicated in 1979.

With the end of smallpox came the end of mass smallpox vaccination programs. Connaught Laboratories in Toronto began the process of shutting down its smallpox vaccine production facility. The last lots of vaccine were completed in March 1980 for a proposed stockpile, but the stockpile plan was soon cancelled, and a set of fifteen vaccinia pulps, the primary ingredient for making the vaccine, were put in deep-freeze storage along with the seed virus. A final shutdown was scheduled and included plans for the incineration of the remaining pulps and materials.

In September 1980, however, Connaught's medical director, Dr. E.W. Pearson, strongly recommended that the frozen pulps be kept. As he stressed, "It surely will not be a great problem to keep the seed virus and pulps for some time to come, and at least in this way we might have something to fall back on so as to be able to prepare our licensed product."

SANOFI PASTEUR CANADA ARCHIVES

Above: A boy is vaccinated during a smallpox eradication campaign, probably in Brazil, circa 1967.

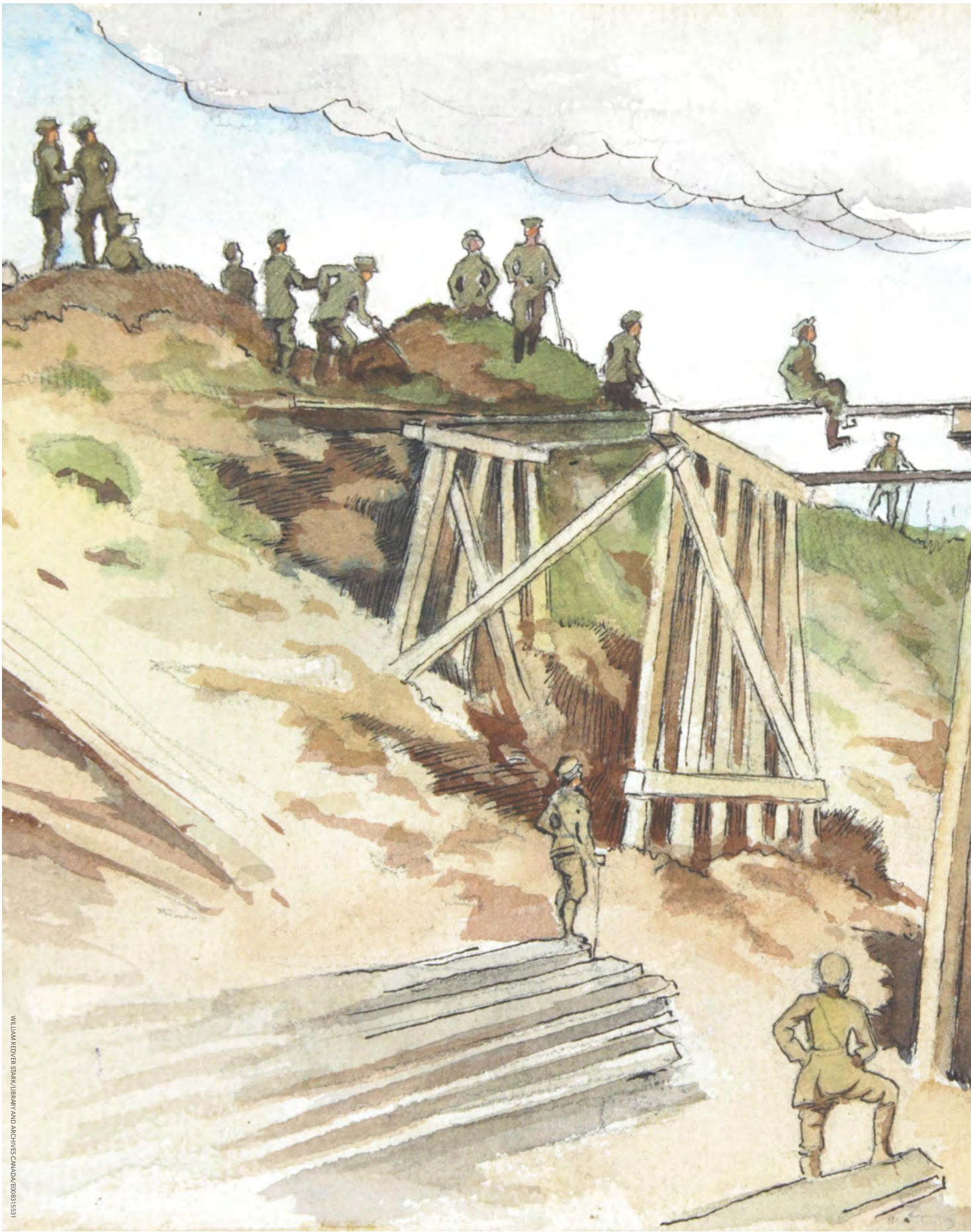
Below: A worker produces smallpox vaccine at the Aventis Pasteur — now called Sanofi Pasteur — laboratory in Toronto in 2003.

The vaccinia pulps were indeed saved and kept in the deep freeze, undisturbed, for the next twenty-one years. Then came the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which led to concerns about smallpox being used as a bioterrorist weapon.

The vaccina pulps were retrieved, and Canada has since created a new smallpox vaccine stockpile. The Canadian Public Health Agency has a contingency plan in place should a new outbreak occur. This is a good thing, since much of the world's population is now as vulnerable to smallpox as Canada's Aboriginal population was four hundred years ago.

Go to CanadasHistory.ca/Vaccines to read more about Canada's vaccine history.

SANOFI PASTEUR CANADA ARCHIVES

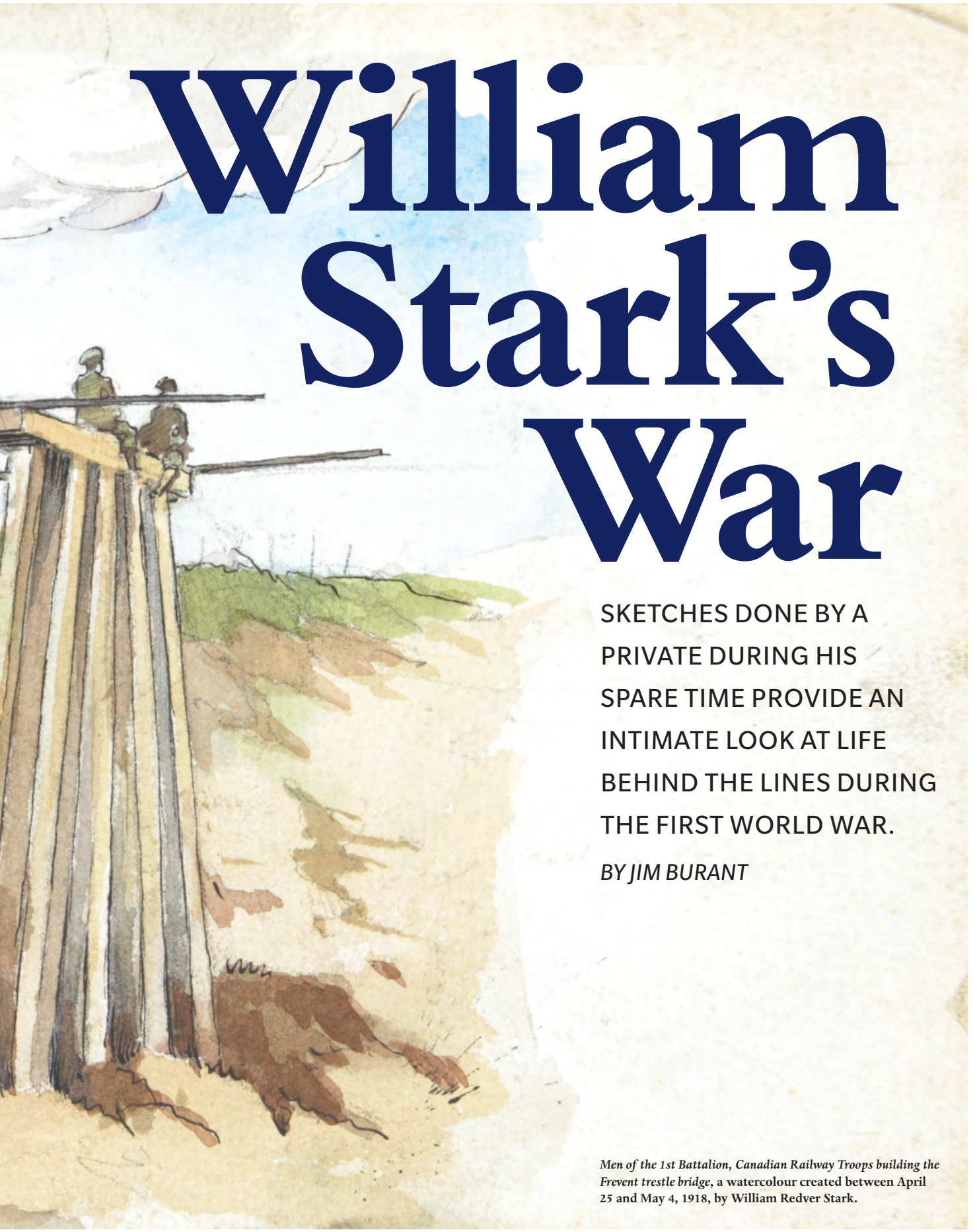


WILLIAM REDVERS STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E008315531

William Stark's War

SKETCHES DONE BY A PRIVATE DURING HIS SPARE TIME PROVIDE AN INTIMATE LOOK AT LIFE BEHIND THE LINES DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

BY JIM BURANT



***Men of the 1st Battalion, Canadian Railway Troops building the Frevent trestle bridge*, a watercolour created between April 25 and May 4, 1918, by William Redver Stark.**

In early June 1916, thirty-year-old William Redver Stark walked into the Toronto recruiting depot and volunteered to serve in the Canadian Expeditionary Force overseas. At five feet four and three quarter inches, he was only just tall enough to join. He listed his trade as stenographer, but in fact Stark was an artist by avocation and training. He had attended the Ontario College of Art and later the Philadelphia School of Fine Arts, and had exhibited works of art at both the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy of Art. He had also become a member of the Society of Graphic Artists in 1912.

It's uncertain why Stark decided to enlist with the Canadian army at this time, but he was single and living at home, and Canada needed men to send overseas to support the war effort, now into its third year. Among other needs, the British government had in May 1916 requested another thousand men to be sent to France to enhance the strength of the Canadian Overseas Railway Construction Corps, a little-known organization that was becoming a key component in the Canadian contribution to the overall war effort. It was here that Stark would serve.

Originally raised in 1915 from staff of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the corps started with less than six hundred men. By the end of the war, the corps would be more than sixteen thousand strong, with thirteen battalions and four specialist companies. Its members were responsible for the repair, maintenance, laying, and operation of railway lines over the entire network of railways within the British sector in France. Their work was significant in helping to ease the problem of providing supplies to the front — shortages of ammunition and artillery had plagued Allied forces during the first years of the war.

Bottom: A drawing of a bombed-out landscape in France, circa 1917.

Right: A watercolour of a military dugout in France, 1917.

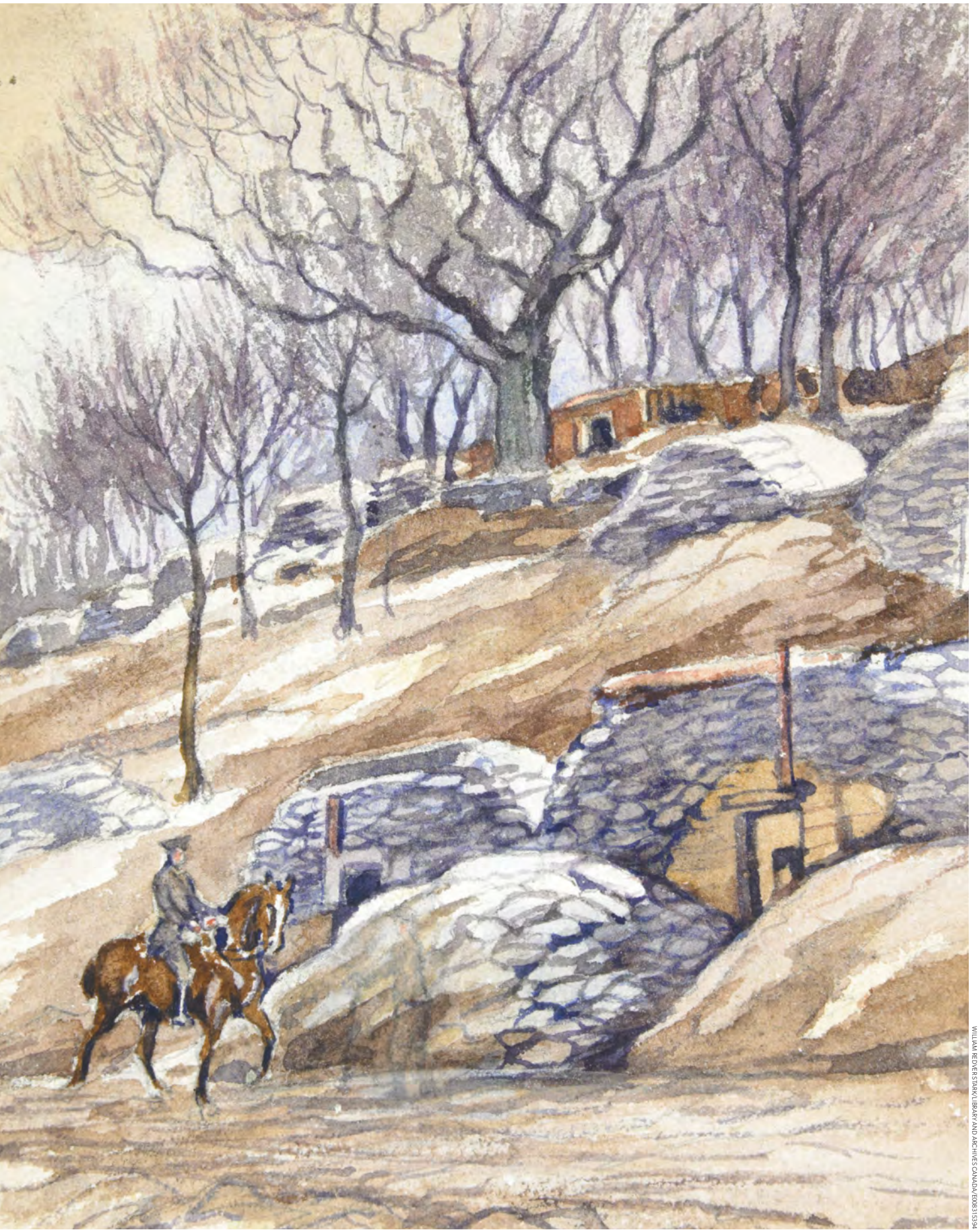
WILLIAM REDVER STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/EO083154276

The work of the railway corps was also dangerous. Railway lines were a constant target of German shelling. Over the course of the war, almost five hundred members of the corps were killed and about fourteen hundred were wounded in battle. Another eleven hundred were injured or invalided out due to accidents and illness.

Stark would document the work of the corps in a series of fourteen sketchbooks, which he kept from the time of his departure from Toronto in the summer of 1916 until the end of the First World War. His more than four hundred watercolours and drawings record a wide range of subjects, sites, and individuals and bring to our attention little-known aspects of the war effort. His artistic ability meant that these works not only act as important visual evidence but also provide a spectacular and sometimes hauntingly beautiful look at the battlefields of Flanders and northern France.

Stark enlisted as a private and remained a private throughout his military career. He joined the 1st Construction Battalion, which trained at Valcartier, Quebec, in the summer of 1916. On September 23, 1916, the battalion sailed for Europe on board the SS *Northland*, reaching the Canadian military camp at Witley, England, soon afterwards. On October 25 the battalion left the Witley camp and was shipped across the English Channel to France, where its members would be stationed in the rear areas of the Ypres Salient of Belgium. The 1st Construction Battalion, which eventually became the 1st Canadian Railway Troop, would be joined over the next several months by several more battalions; these units spent the rest of the war close to, and sometimes directly in, the front lines.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Stark's war experiences is limited to a few official records, his sketchbooks, and some notes he made later in life on the brown paper envelopes in which he kept his sketchbooks. He seems not to have kept a diary, and no letters seem to have survived. But we can get some sense of his daily existence from the 1st Battalion's war diary, kept from November 1917 onwards. Of note was the fact that the battalion usually did not carry out active work on Sundays, which probably freed Stark to go on outings, during which he did his sketches. Normally, officers and enlisted men were prohibited from carrying and using cameras or sketching equipment near the front lines, and Stark's pastime did get him in trouble when he was stationed at Rosendael on the Belgian front. On the envelope that held his "Belgium 1916–1917" sketchbook, Stark noted that "at the time I made this drawing [as yet unidentified] the front line trenches were only a mile away



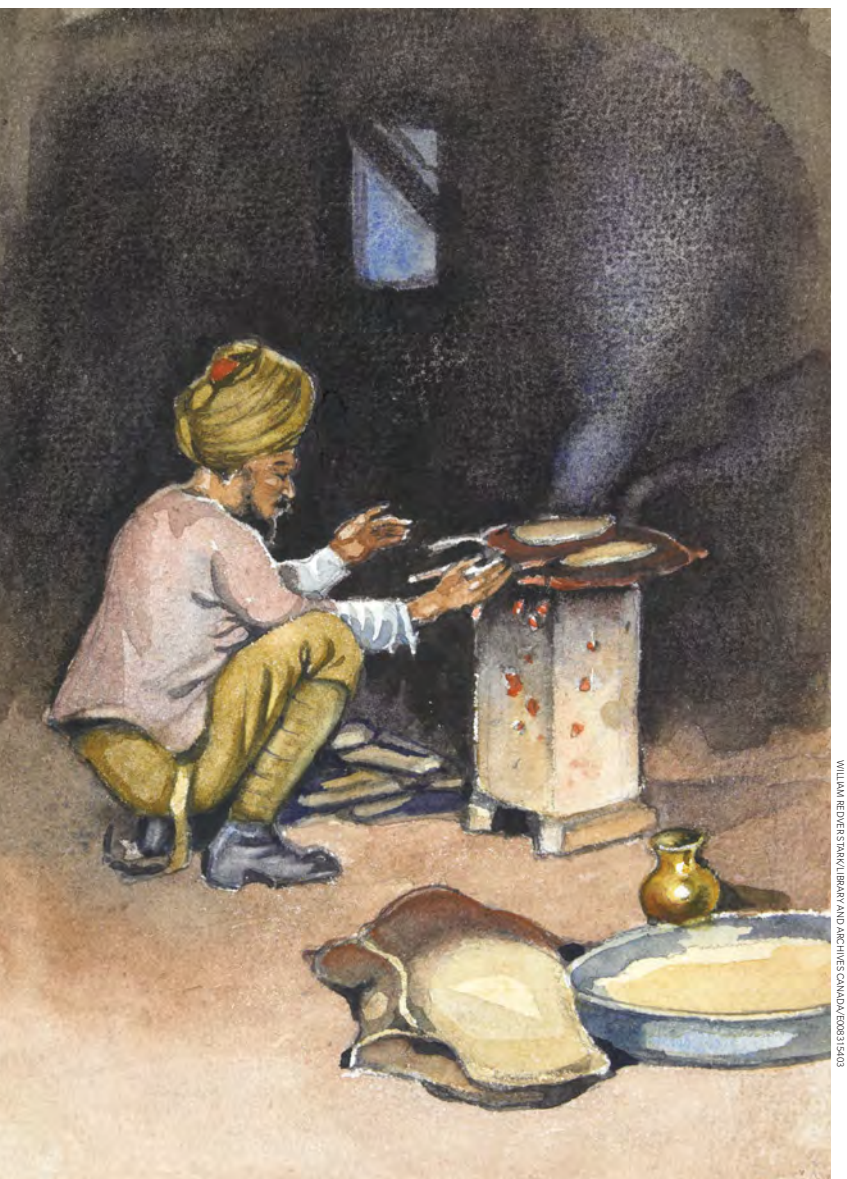
WILLIAM REDVERS STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E008315394

The visual record Stark created and maintained, and then passed on to his descendants, is an invaluable source for the history of the First World War.

and to the left of me. Light infantry were firing about 3 mile range. — I was put under arrest temporarily for drawing so near the front line of fire." Fortunately, authorities released him, and he continued to sketch throughout his stay in Europe.

As a private, Stark was probably not able to roam widely across the sectors where he and his battalion were stationed. Yet he produced detailed depictions of a wide variety of subjects, many of them astonishingly beautiful. He executed many views of military camps and quarters, with soldiers resting, cooking meals, and caring for livestock. He did studies of horse-drawn artillery, military wagons, and military supply convoys. He recorded figure studies of soldiers and sketched military engineering projects, such as bridge construction and repairs. He documented captured German railway guns and field guns and showed military prisoners working on repair projects under guard. He also noted the widespread damage caused by the war and recorded civilian evacuees outside a town under German bombardment.

Below: A watercolour created in April 1918 entitled *Soldier of the East Indian Regiment preparing a meal.*



WILLIAM REDVERS STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E008315403

Much of the work was done behind the lines, and there Stark's work assumes a much more pastoral and peaceful air, even though such scenes may have been only a few kilometres from one of the most horrific battlefields ever known to mankind, the Ypres Salient. His sketchbooks are filled with renderings of landscapes, coastal and river scenery, small villages, and civilians working in their fields or posing as if for a portrait. They also contain views of farms and farm buildings, country roads, and farm animals of many types.

Stark was also granted occasional leaves from his unit. He spent three weeks in London in early 1917, visiting the London Zoo, among other sights. He was on leave over Christmas 1917 but did not return when required and was docked three days pay in consequence. Finally, he spent some time in Paris in October 1918, during which he recorded several lovely views in the city.

Since the 1st Construction Battalion shifted from location to location as logistical concerns changed, Stark's sketches record a large area. In Belgium, the places covered included Rosendael, Elverdinghe, and Poperinghe. In northern France, he sketched scenes in Pas-de-Calais near Vimy, Bray Sur Somme, the Somme Canal, Cambrai, Caudry, Chuignes, Douai, Doullens, Dunkirk (also spelled by Stark as "Dunquerke"), Frévent, Haynecourt, Longeaux, Olhain, Peronne, Suzanne, Wambaix, and Wimereux. The images provide us with a vivid and lively panorama of daily life behind the lines.

Among the most intriguing images are those of other imperial and French colonial troops, whom Stark sketched in their quarters. Several views depict East Indian troops preparing meals in their bivouacs. One of the little-known aspects of the war on the Western Front was the presence of thousands of Chinese and East Indian workers, who were part of labour battalions serving with the railway troops. An April 1, 1918, entry in the 1st Battalion's war diary at Bethencourt in northern France noted, "Half a Company of Chinese Labour employed in clearing Bush etc." On April 3, the diarist noted, "The construction of the No. 1 Sector Pas-Conde GHQ Line of

WILLIAM REDVER STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E008315603

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WILLIAM REDVER STARK/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/E008315487

Above left: ***German prisoners at Doingt, France*****, October 15, 1917.**

Above right: ***German field gun captured a few days previous to sketch by the Imperial army advance in Sept 1918.***

Left: ***View of four horses with two horsemen pulling a carriage with two occupants,*** **in France circa 1917.**

Defence was continued today with 964 Men of this Battalion, having 3,843 men of Imperial, Indian and Chinese Units attached."

The presence of such labour battalions has received little attention in official histories, although Memorial University historian Mark Humphries, in a recent article on the origins of the Spanish flu epidemic of 1918, has postulated that the epidemic began with a 1917 outbreak in northern China, which then spread to North America and to Europe when Chinese labourers were transported across North America to work on construction projects in wartime Europe. Some of the East Indian labour battalions, which would have had contact with the Chinese, returned to India at the beginning of April, among them the "29th, Lushai Labour Company, whose services have been most satisfactory," as the war diary for April 11, 1918, stated. In the months following their return, an influenza outbreak in India killed almost seventeen million people. Could the returning labour battalions have been one of the sources of this disaster?

The visual record Stark created and maintained, and then passed on to his descendants, is an invaluable source for the history of the First World War and deserves further notice. It is unfortunate that Stark did not choose to write more about his experiences in Flanders and northern France over the two and a half years he was there. At the end of the war, the battalion remained in Europe until January 1919, when it was shipped back to England. In March 1919, the battalion embarked for Canada, and on March 26, 1919, Stark was discharged in Toronto.

In his postwar life, Stark turned to art to make a living, eventually joining Brigdens Ltd. as a commercial artist. He also continued to do freelance work and had his work exhibited in major art exhibitions through the 1920s and 1930s. In 1921, he married Marjorie Crouch, twelve years his junior, and together they had one daughter, Anita, born in 1926, who died while still a teenager. Stark died in obscurity in Toronto in 1953, his wife, Marjorie, surviving him for another ten years.

In 2005, Stark's descendants donated his sketches to Library and Archives Canada (LAC), where the collection provides a rare illustrated record of one of Canada's unofficial First World War artists. In September 2014, LAC made available a complete version of all of Stark's watercolours, as well as a copy of his service record. These can be seen at http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/stark/Pages/william-redver-stark.aspx.

See more war art at CanadasHistory.ca/WarArt.

THE SERPENT SLAYER

Andrew Paull's unique legal training prepared him for a lifetime of advocacy on behalf of First Nations people.

by Janet Nicol

From the beginning, it was clear that Andrew Paull was destined to be a leader among his people. Born on February 6, 1892, to a prominent Squamish family in British Columbia, Paull seemed to know from an early age that he had a special purpose.

His traditional name, Xwechtaal, meant serpent slayer and had its origins in a legend about a man who acquires power over life and death after killing a two-headed snake. Indeed, Paull would go on to face many serpents in his lifetime in the form of discrimination and injustice. As a political activist, leader, and legal defender, he would come to be known as Canada's "Indian conscience."

At an early age, Paull was groomed to obtain the skills he would need to push for Aboriginal land rights. "I have been told by my people, ever since I entered school, to make a special study of the Indian land question, which I have done," he said later in life.

Paull grew up on the Mission reserve in North Vancouver. The family home was one of many white-painted houses surrounding a wooden church along the shoreline of Burrard Inlet. Also known as Ustlawn, the village dated back to 1863 and was run by a Roman Catholic mission.

When St. Paul's residential school opened near the reserve, the local bishop called a community meeting and challenged someone to be the first to enrol. It was seven-year-old Andy Paull who stepped forward. His experiences were apparently positive, as he maintained contact with his teachers later in life.

After completing Grade 7 — the highest grade then

offered at the school — Paull spent two years learning about his people's history and culture from Squamish elders. Among those who had a significant influence on Paull was Chief Joe Capilano, who worked hard to draw attention to the fact that First Nations people had lost much of their land and were increasingly constrained by new hunting and fishing regulations. Capilano "would speak to me more confidentially and earnestly than he would to anybody else," Paull said.

It was Chief Capilano who led a Squamish delegation to England in 1906 to present a petition to King Edward VII on land claims and other issues. While the petition drew some publicity, it was ultimately unsuccessful. This failure may have led Paull's parents — Dan and Theresa Paull — to find a way for their bright young son to pursue legal training so that he could argue for land rights through the courts.

ANDREW WONG/KNAW

British Columbia, at this time, had no law schools. But it was possible to train with a lawyer to obtain the necessary qualifications.

The opportunity to do so may have come through Paull's father's employer. Charles Cates was the owner of a longshoring business that employed Dan Paull as a foreman. Cates likely helped to arrange a placement for Paull with Hugh St. Quinton Cayley, a criminal lawyer with a practice in downtown Vancouver.

Cayley was an interesting, even colourful mentor for the earnest young Squamish teenager. A graduate of Osgoode Hall law school in Toronto, Cayley spent time as a newspaper journalist in New York and then Calgary. In 1885 Cayley was sent to jail for contempt of court for describing newly installed Calgary Judge Jeremiah Travis as an "eastern arrogant popinjay." Cayley reportedly made a show of it, arriving at the jailhouse in a wagon, followed by a brass band.

Despite this setback, Cayley went on to become a member of the Northwest Territories legislature and eventually moved to Vancouver to resume the practice of law. Described by a Vancouver newspaper as being of "a man of kindly humour and an acid tongue," Cayley took Paull under his wing in 1907. Over the next four years, Paull commuted by ferry across Burrard Inlet to Cayley's office on West Hastings Street. Besides learning general legal procedures, Paull studied the law as it applied to Aboriginal peoples. He met several lawyers, with whom he stayed in contact throughout his career.

At the end of his training, Paull was qualified to take exams from a board of lawyers. If successful, he would become a member of the British Columbia Law Society. However, there was a catch: Candidates had to be on the provincial voters list. To get on the list, Paull would have had to give up his Aboriginal status and live off-reserve. Because he was not willing to do this, Paull did not apply. For this reason, he came to refer to himself as "a lawyer without a ticket."

After his training, Paull returned to his community, taking shifts as a waterfront lumber handler — an area of work in which the men of his Squamish community specialized. He put his legal education to use representing his Aboriginal co-workers in a union local of the Industrial Workers of the World that was informally known as the "Bows and Arrows"

Centre: An illustration of Andrew Paull based on a photograph taken later in his life.

Below: The Vancouver waterfront, circa 1919. Members of Andy Paull's Squamish First Nation specialized in waterfront lumber handling.

CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVE/FLICKR

union. He also spent a year, along with a business partner, operating a bowling alley and pool hall on North Vancouver's main street.

In later life, he was a serious-looking man, with his trademark crewcut, wearing a business suit, and carrying a briefcase. But in his youthful days he liked to dress in a coloured vest over a shirt with a starched collar and a string tie. Everyone called him Andy. Sporting a straw boater hat and walking down the street in two-tone button boots, he was known as a friendly and confident man who knew every person living in North Vancouver by their first names.

As tradition dictated, when Paull turned twenty-one, his parents arranged his marriage to Josephine Joseph. Six years younger than her husband, Josephine would prove to be loyal and steadfast — and long-suffering, too, as her husband became more consumed with his work. They would eventually have four children.

Paull's employment horizons began to widen in 1913 when he was hired as an interpreter for the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on B.C. land claims. During the next three years, Paull travelled the province and met other Aboriginal peoples, including Reverend Peter Kelly, a Haida leader and Methodist minister with whom Paull would continue to work closely for many years.

During the 1920s, Paull became known around the province as "that Indian lawyer from North Vancouver." He began organizing First Nations groups into the Allied Tribes of British Columbia. The group petitioned both the provincial and federal governments on land claims, leading Parliament in 1926 to set up a joint committee to hold hearings and make recommendations. Well-armed with evidence, Paull and Kelly appeared before the committee the following year. Paull spoke eloquently to policy-makers about hunting and fishing rights, the need for health and education funding, and the ongoing issue of land claims among First Nations that had never signed treaties.

"We were never conquered," Paull told the committee. "And we should not be submitted to anything that a conquered people or nation has to put up with."

Paull and Kelly were rewarded with praise from committee members and a promise for annual grants for education and improvements to reserves. Rights to foreshore land — the land between the high and low watermarks of streams, rivers, lakes, and the ocean — were also recognized.

But they lost much more than they won when the committee made the startling recommendation to amend the Indian Act to make it illegal to obtain funds or legal counsel to advance land claims. The recommendation eventually became law and was not rescinded until 1951. This was a huge blow to the Allied Tribes of B.C., which was compelled to disband as result of the new law. Feeling tricked and cheated, Paull retreated to local advocacy work.

Since he could no longer openly lobby on behalf of Aboriginal land claims, he engaged in quiet activism while managing lacrosse teams. Paull was himself a superb athlete who had the physique of a boxer. Chief Simon Baker, a young lacrosse player, described in his memoir how he used to watch Paull manage the team: "He knew how to talk to people, how to convince people.… He was why a lot of people had respect for the North Shore Indians."

Paull founded a new lobby group — the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB) — in 1943. The national group was still legally barred from championing land rights. Its focus was on voting rights, removing discriminatory liquor offences as a way of ending most of the criminal charges faced by First Nations people, and advocating for pensions and welfare for Aboriginals that were on the same level as those provided to the rest of Canada's population.

Among those whom Paull befriended was Father Herbert Dunlop, who served as priest at the Mission reserve from 1940 to 1943. Paull lived next door and often came by to use the rectory's telephone, Dunlop wrote in his 1986 biography

Below: A view of Vancouver facing north, with the waterfront and the North Shore in the background, circa 1932. Andy Paull received his legal training at a law office in downtown Vancouver.

of Paull. Often they would visit, with Paull rolling his own cigarettes from Bull Durham tobacco and engaging in long conversations with the priest.

People frequently came to Paull's house to seek advice when they had business with the Department of Indian Affairs or were in trouble with the law. Paull's home also sometimes functioned as a halfway house for people released from prison. While he charged for his legal work, his rates were "far below that of the rates of the legal profession," according to Dunlop.

When handling murder cases, Paull was often successful in getting the charges reduced. The fact that "he had many connections and was well thought of by the legal profession" likely contributed to his success, wrote Dunlop. Among those who called on him for advice when dealing with cases involving Aboriginal people was criminal lawyer Henry Castillou. Castillou took an interest in Aboriginal rights and successfully defended a number of First Nations people charged with murder. He was later called to the bench, where he was known as the "cowboy judge of the Cariboo." "I never go to a court without my medicine man along," Castillou said of Paull.

Unjust treatment by Indian agents was another battle Paull took on. In a periodical he founded in 1949, called *The Thunderbird*, Paull described a case in which a widowed woman of the Chilliwack nation, named Laura James, was accused by an Indian agent of trespassing on the Tzeachton Reserve, where she had been born and to where she had returned after her husband died. The dispute was resolved in James' favour, and she was re-admitted to the band.

Paull also confronted the issue of the disproportionate number of Aboriginal men in Oakalla prison. "Their enforced confinement," he wrote, "is generally for infractions of the ridiculous liquor sections of the Indian Act." Until 1962, the act prohibited First Nations people from buying liquor in a store, possessing liquor on a reserve, or drinking liquor anywhere other than in a licensed establishment.

Paull occasionally took his legal skills out of province. In 1958 he appeared as legal counsel, along with E.T. Richard, for members of a Mi'kmaq band in a 1958 New Brunswick Court of Appeal case known as Warman versus Francis et al. The defendants were accused of taking timber from a farmer's land. They argued that, based on their land rights, they were entitled to the timber. They lost their case.

Meanwhile, federal voting rights continued to be a vexing issue. In 1955, Paull appeared before police court in Richmond, B.C., to represent a Musqueam band member charged with failing to file a 1954 federal income tax return. This was five years before Aboriginal people could vote federally. "No taxation without representation," Paull argued, winning his client an acquittal

Since at the time Aboriginal people would lose their treaty status if they took up the right to vote, Paull discouraged them from doing so.

Since at the time Aboriginal people would lose their treaty status if they took up the right to vote, Paull discouraged his people from doing so. "You would be merely selling your birthright for the doubtful privilege of putting a cross on a ballot every four years," Paull stated. The issue caused him to part with his former ally, Kelly, in 1947, because Kelly supported assimilation. It wasn't until 1960 that members of First Nations were able to vote in federal elections without giving up their treaty rights.

CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVE/FLICKR

As Paull grew older, he suffered from various health problems. Still, he kept on, fighting in the courts and legislatures at every level. His briefcase was packed with legal documents when he suddenly became ill early in the summer of 1959 and was admitted to St. Paul's Hospital in Vancouver. He promised visitors he would soon be well and would travel to Ottawa to present a brief. "I'll go on a stretcher, if I have to," he told priest Henry Bader. However, Paull died in hospital on July 28. He was sixty-eight.

A thousand people came to his funeral service, which was held at the church on the reserve where he had lived his entire life. Six chiefs carried Paull's casket to his final resting place at the cemetery nearby.

Following his death, Maisie Hurley, editor of *The Native Voice*, praised Paull's courtroom skills. "He was considered the greatest authority on this continent on Indian aspects of the law. He would have been one of the country's most brilliant criminal lawyers if he'd had a degree. He had dignity, drama. He was superb."

Vancouver Sun reporter Mac Reynolds wrote of Paull, "Even without a degree, he appeared in court at every level, including the Court of Appeal, for a man without a diploma, a feat roughly akin to entering the Kingdom of Heaven."

And George Manuel, Paull's successor as president of the NAIB, summed up Paull's legacy, saying he was "the spark and catalyst" of the contemporary First Nations political movement.

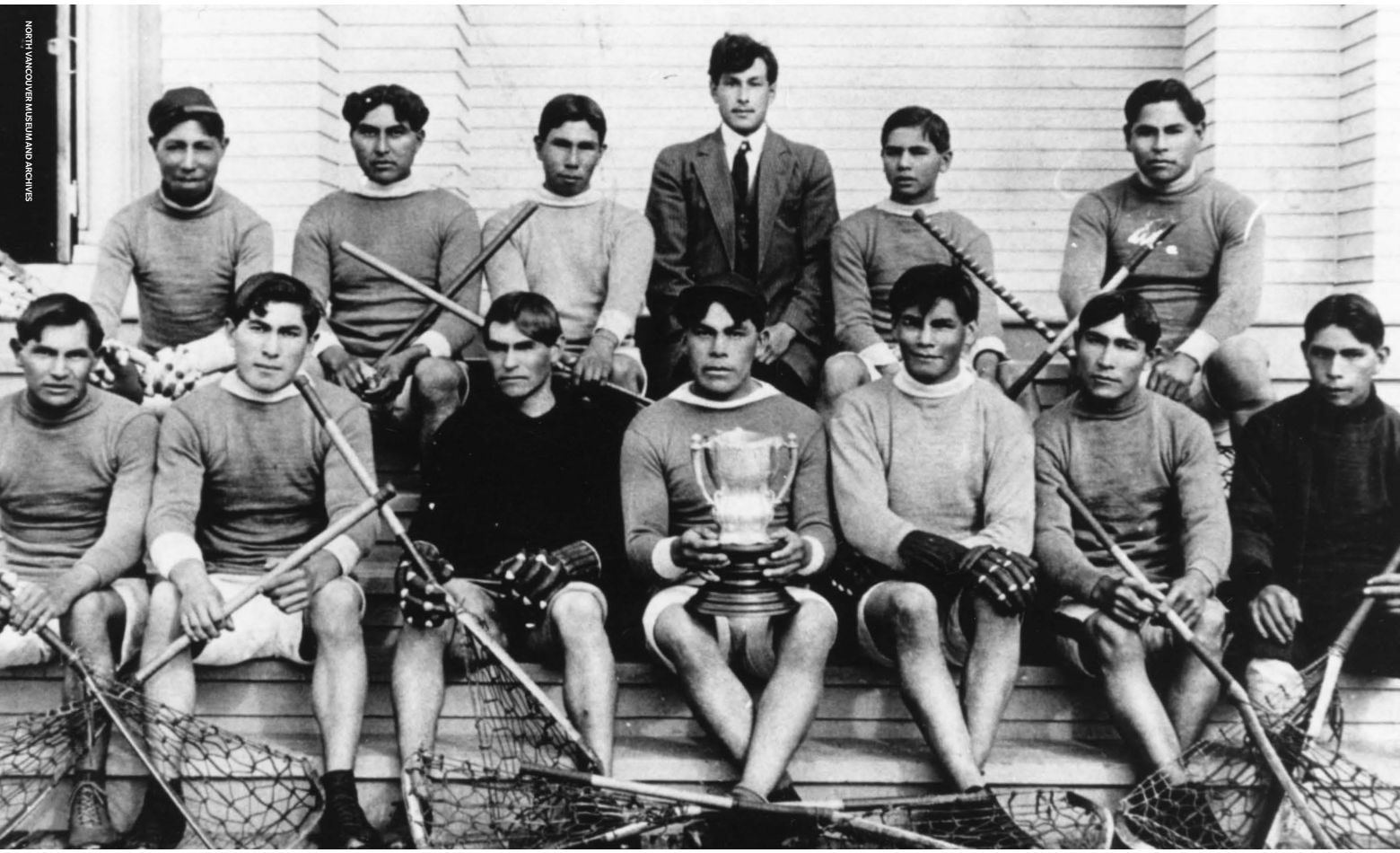
Paull never forgot about his task to make "a special study of the Indian land question" — the issue that had first motivated his family and elders to provide him with an education in the legal field. Three months before he passed away, he made sure his legal files were put in a safe place.

After his wife, Josephine, passed on in 1965, the files were placed in care of their son Percy, who later gave them to his nephew Frank Rivers, a teacher and Squamish Nation councillor and activist.

In 1992, Rivers dug out out his great-uncle's files. "He said, at the proper time in history it'll come out," Rivers told the *Vancouver Sun* in reference to the case his great-uncle had built to support Aboriginal land title. "There'll be a proper time for it to be used."

The time came in 2000, when Rivers used the information in Paull's legal files to help secure a $92.5-million out-of-court settlement with the federal government over more than a dozen land claims. Rivers died in 2009. But his legacy, and that of his great-uncle — "the serpent slayer" — lives on.

Learn more about Andy Paull and his legacy at CanadasHistory.ca/Paull.



NORTH VANCOUVER MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

Manager Andrew Paull (back row centre) with his champion North Shore Indian lacrosse team, date unknown. Under Paull, the lacrosse team became the pride of the Squamish Nation.

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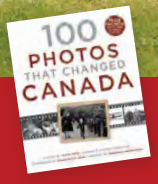

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HOLLOW VICTORY

The Rise of the New West:
The History of a Region in Confederation
by John F. Conway
James Lorimer & Company, Toronto, 2014
399 pp., $27.95 paperback

This is a book that has grown like Topsy. First published in 1983 with the title *The West*, it has appeared in updated editions with new introductions in 1994, 2006, and now (with a new title) in 2014. Its author, John F. Conway, is chair of the University of Regina's sociology and social studies department as well as a one-time student radical who writes frequently for Regina's lively magazine *Prairie Dog*, where he is known as "Saskatchewan's most scathing sociologist."

So don't expect a carefully "objective" history of the vast region of Canada that stretches from Ontario's western border to the Pacific Ocean. Conway has a point of view. It simmers quietly during the first eight chapters of the current volume (1867–1983 — which comprised the 1983 edition), begins to bubble in the chapters added for the 1994 edition, and reaches a furious boil in the additional chapters required to bring the story up-to-date, in 2006 and in 2014.

And the new title? "The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy in the West" would more accurately capture the theme. Conway is not writing from the triumphalist angle of a Westerner who has finally seen power within Confederation shift away from the hated Central Canada. Instead, he describes the betrayal of progressive principles and political victories (health insurance, wheat pools) that were part of Western Canadian politics until first neo-liberalism and then the Harperite right came to dominate not just the four Western provinces but also the country. The 2006 election of a prime minister from Alberta, with a caucus dominated by Westerners, was a Western "victory tasting much like a defeat." Prime Minister Stephen Harper's election, Conway writes, led directly to the "dismantling of the structures and programs which had provided social and economic shelter to Westerners in the past."

The early chapters of this book provide a good review of Westerners' struggle, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to make their voices heard. Politicians and financiers always recognized that the West would be the source of the new Dominion's wealth, as long as they solved the transportation problems and lured enough new settlers. Residents of the Prairies and British Columbia would simultaneously produce raw materials (especially wheat) for export and provide a captive market for Central Canadian manufacturers. But, from the Dominion's earliest days, the boom-and-bust economic cycles, exacerbated by Ottawa's disregard for the region, guaranteed unrest — including the 1885 Northwest Rebellion, the Winnipeg General Strike, and demands for provincial control of natural resources.

New parties emerged, with widespread support among rural voters. Although both the Social Credit Party and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) were fading by the beginning of the Second World War, "The farmers and workers of the Prairies had presented two visions of a new basis for the national economy," writes Conway. The idea that government should help alleviate the harsher consequences of unbridled capitalism had taken root throughout North America.

But the postwar story of the West quickly morphs into the story of Canada's slide into petro-economy status. Despite the West's growing power thanks to its resource riches, alienation festered. According to Conway, "The defeat and degradation of [former Prime Minister John] Diefenbaker, the failure of the CCF/NDP to make a national breakthrough, and the [Lester] Pearson government's growing pre-occupation with Quebec all tended to increase a Western sense of political distance from Ottawa." The West began to flex its muscles — and then the OPEC crisis struck in 1973. From that moment onwards, regional tensions flared, and the interests of international oil companies trumped those of Westerners, who had a different vision for their provinces and country.

The final chapters of *The Rise of the New West* describe the steady defeat of progressive policies in each of the four Western provinces, even when nominally progressive parties were elected. Harper's Canada, in Conway's opinion, is "a land ruled by a shrinking and mean-spirited government, rushing to imprison people … [and] bloody-mindedly callous about the environmental consequences of unregulated economic growth."

There are cracks in the renovated facade of *The Rise of the New West*. First Nations are nowhere to be seen in the post-Confederation chapters, probably because they were largely written before the avalanche of new scholarship. Later chapters, in which the phrase "corporate agenda" echoes repeatedly, make no mention of larger global economic pressures. But Conway's scathing style and Saskatchewan perspective are a bracing corrective for anyone who makes the ignorant assumption that Westerners all think alike.

Reviewed by **Charlotte Gray**, a past chair of Canada's History Society and a past winner of the Pierre Berton Award.

REVISING NATURE

Inventing Stanley Park:
An Environmental History
by Sean Kheraj
University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 2013
299 pp., illus., $29.95 paperback

"The jewel of Vancouver," "a vibrant coastal rainforest," "the greatest urban park in Canada" — there's no lack of colourful

ways to describe Stanley Park, North America's third-largest urban park. The park, a source of pride for Vancouverites, holds an abundance of exceptional beauty and ecological riches and is one of the most popular tourist sites in Canada.

A very special version of its story is recounted in Sean Kheraj's book, intriguingly titled *Inventing Stanley Park*. Kheraj offers a behind-the-scenes look at this immense space of "wild" nature, revealing that it is in equal parts the product of natural forces and of a considerable developmental effort by humans.

The history of Stanley Park began in 1887 when the federal government conceded to the city of Vancouver the right to use a section of a military reserve to develop a park located on the Burrard Peninsula — a point of land surrounded by the waters of Coal Harbour, Burrard Inlet, and English Bay. Vancouver had just been incorporated as a city, and with the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway the city's growth soared. September 28, 1888, marked the official opening of the park that was named in honour of the sixth Governor General of Canada, Lord Frederick Arthur Stanley.

In those days, however, the vast, over-four-hundred-acre area earmarked for park development was still partly inhabited. For hundreds of years, the site had been occupied by the indigenous peoples of the Coast Salish Nation, notably around the village of Whoi Whoi (Xwáýxway), many of whose descendants were scattered due to epidemics and diseases introduced to them by colonization. In addition to more than fifty Aboriginal people, the park also housed settler families who were dislodged by authorities over the course of subsequent decades.

Taking possession of the site was therefore a crucial step in the process of inventing Stanley Park, as detailed in the first and second chapters of the book. Transforming the area also entailed many hidden manoeuvres, the scale and magnitude of which led unsuspecting eyes to view the park as appearing to have a wild, untouched landscape. As shown in the chapter "Improving Nature," Stanley Park would take shape with impressive and extensive landscaping, road and path construction to allow visitor access, and the adoption of a range of regulations that would prescribe visitors' behaviour.

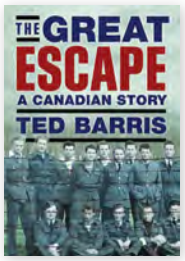
Kheraj recounts the incessant work undertaken to protect the park from its own natural elements, which were a constant threat to the existence of a site whose ecology had been changed significantly since the late nineteenth century. Some wild animals were expelled (bears, cougars, and wolves) while other species were introduced — such as the grey squirrels that were very popular in the early twentieth century and prized for their fur — as well as various other animals otherwise destined for the zoo. But, like the swans, also introduced in this era, these new species were destined to become the prey of choice for some native predators, and it was a constant battle to maintain their presence in the park.

The "struggle against the autonomy of nature," as Kheraj puts it, also meant fighting fires, storms, droughts, and the erosion of the park's shores by the ocean that surrounds it. The last chapter of the book discusses some painful episodes of destruction affecting parts of the park, particularly the violent windstorms during the winter of 2006–07 that decimated more than ten thousand trees, representing around five to ten per cent of Stanley Park's forest.

Finally, *Inventing Stanley Park* tells how the site was the subject of some urbanization. The aptly titled fourth chapter, "The City in the Park," reconstructs the history of its development, particularly the wide road through the park that echoes how the Lions Gate Bridge overlooks part of the park and connects downtown to West Vancouver. We learn how the construction of this suspension bridge was the subject of considerable controversy in the 1930s, given its imposing character that would transform part of the natural landscape.

In this enjoyable and richly illustrated book, Sean Kheraj invites us to explore the paradoxical character of our relationship with nature — one that sees us wanting simultaneously to protect it and to transform it to meet the shifting ideals of the day. *Inventing Stanley Park* reminds us how large urban parks like Stanley Park are a precious legacy of the nineteenth century, more than ever enjoyed by all.

Reviewed by **Michèle Dagenais**, a professor in the history department at Université de Montréal.



CAPTIVATING EXPERIENCES

The Forgotten: Canadian POWs, Escapers and Evaders in Europe, 1939–45
by Nathan M. Greenfield
HarperCollins, Toronto, 2013
491 pp., illus., $34.99 hardcover

The Great Escape: A Canadian Story
by Ted Barris
Dundurn Press, Toronto, 2013
304 pp., illus., $33.99 paperback

Nathan Greenfield's *The Forgotten* and Ted Barris's *The Great Escape: A Canadian Story* take significantly different approaches to detailing the life of the Canadians held in Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

The *Forgotten* is a collection of stories from forty-five Canadians who were held captive during the war. Their experiences are organized chronologically, with new individuals entering the story as they are captured and departing upon their escape or liberation. Each vignette is dated, and many run no more than one or two pages in length.

As Greenfield says in his introduction, "Issues such as hunger, fear, boredom, daring escapes or longing for mail appear as part of their daily lives rather than being summoned to the fore by this historian's plan."

For readers, the format doesn't provide many options. It's difficult to follow any single story, as the various tales leapfrog through the book, and readers will need to be patient.

Fortunately, the prisoners' stories are engrossing, detailed, and well worth reading. The human experience is carefully drawn out of their stories, rather than being held up as piece of evidence to support an argument or a theme.

One of the most interesting and unique series of stories follows "Les Religieux," twelve French-Canadian Oblate priests and brothers and five Sacred Heart brothers who were captured after the ship taking them to missionary work in Africa was sunk in 1941.

Their story is told thanks to a previously little-used trove of "letters, memoirs, and other documents in the Archives Deschâtelets at Saint Paul University in Ottawa."

Greenfield also provides a troubling look at the experience of soldiers captured during the disastrous raid at Dieppe in August 1942. The soldiers were barely fed while they were shipped in boxcars to their eventual POW camp. The story of John Harvie and more than 150 other Allied airmen who were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp for several months is equally disturbing.

Altogether, Greenfield's collection provides an exceptional look at the experiences of Canadian POWs during the war.

Ted Barris presents a more traditional approach to the story of "the great escape" following the experiences of Canadian airmen at Stalag Luft III. It was from this camp that, on the night of March 24–25, 1944, a total of seventy-six prisoners escaped in the largest Commonwealth breakout of the war. Out of the group, three men eventually made their way back to England while fifty, including six Canadians, were executed.

The Great Escape provides a good look at the experience in the camp and the secret preparations that led to the breakout. A number of Canadians played significant roles in the escape, and Barris's book explains their contributions. Wally Floody, who later served as a technical advisor on the film *The Great Escape*, was a key member of the tunnelling team, until he was shipped to another camp weeks before the escape.

The book relies heavily on Paul Brickhill's original account of the escape that eventually became the basis for the 1963 film starring Richard Attenborough and Steve McQueen. Canadian historian Jonathan Vance's *A Gallant Company: The Men of the Great Escape* is also an excellent account of the daring escape attempt. Vance has written specifically on the Canadians involved in the great escape.

Unfortunately, Barris's *The Great Escape* is narrowly focused on the Canadian experience. At times it's difficult to understand the entire event without knowing more about the contributions of other Allied airmen.

Barris is most successful at capturing the stories of the soldiers, in particular over the final months of the war, and their desperate attempts at survival. For months, Canadian POWs prepared for the war's end. Most Commonwealth prisoners endured lengthy forced marches through freezing temperatures and snow from early 1945 until the end of the war.

Steve McQueen's daring motorcycle breakout has cemented the escape as an important moment in memories of the Second World War. The film is not only entertaining but has upheld an image of the prisoner of war that endures today.

Fortunately, what both of these books do — and in particular Greenfield's excellent collection of stories — is to drive home the excruciating and difficult day-to-day existence of Canadian POWs during the Second World War.

Reviewed by **Joel Ralph**, the director of programs for Canada's History Society.

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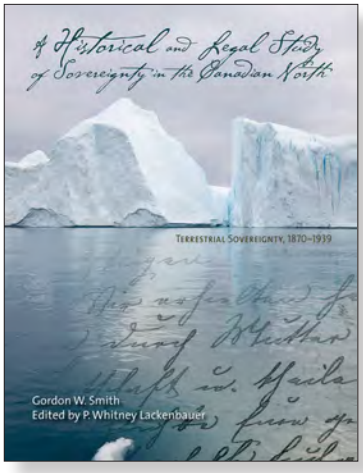
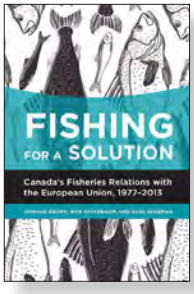

A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North
TERRESTRIAL SOVEREIGNTY, 1870–1939
Gordon W. Smith
Edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer

A HISTORICAL AND LEGAL STUDY OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANADIAN NORTH
Terrestrial Sovereignty, 1870–1939
Gordon W. Smith, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer

9781552387207 pb
9781552387726 epub
512 pp, $39.95, illustrations

Dr. Gordon W. Smith was a historian who devoted the last twenty-five years of his life to researching and writing the international history of the Canadian Arctic.

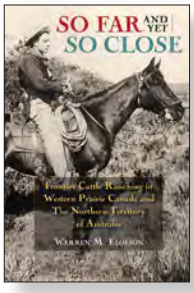
Copublished with the Arctic Institute of North America



FISHING FOR A SOLUTION
Canada's Fisheries Relations with the European Union, 1977–2013
Donald Barry, Bob Applebaum, and Earl Wiseman

9781552387788 pb, 9781552387818 epub
200 pp, $34.95

"Oh, this is timely. As cabinet works up its one big legacy initiative, a Canada-E.U. free trade pact, *Fishing for a Solution* documents the last time a Canadian cabinet worked up a trade agreement with Europe. Spoiler alert: it was a fiasco." Holly Doan, *Blacklock's Reporter*



SO FAR AND YET SO CLOSE
Frontier Cattle Ranching in Prairie Western Canada and the Northern Territory of Australia
Warren Elofson

9781552387948 pb
9781552387979 epub
280 pp, $34.95, illustrations, Spring 2015

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HOME FRONTS

A Time Such as There Never Was Before: Canada After the Great War
by Alan Bowker
Dundurn Press, Toronto, 2014
440 pp., illus., $34.99 paperback

The past year has seen significant attention devoted to the one hundredth anniversary of the First World War. Britain, France, and Australia are all moving ahead with major commemorative plans. While Canada seems to be lagging behind with formal, federal-led projects, there has been no shortage of interest. The weeks from late July into August — the anniversary of the period leading to the war and of its outbreak a hundred years ago — saw a frenzy of magazine articles, news stories, and fresh books.

There has been tremendous study of the outbreak of the war but less effort devoted to its ramifications. A new book by Alan Bowker, who holds a Ph.D. in history and is a former High Commissioner to Guyana, offers insight into how Canadians struggled in the war's aftermath.

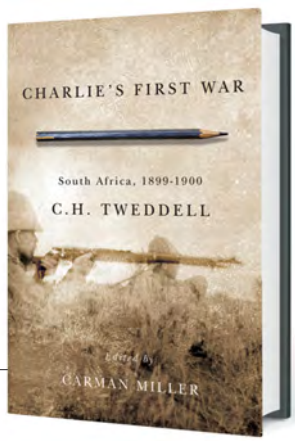
A Time Such as There Never Was Before is a bit of an unwieldy title, but it comes from political economist and humorist Stephen Leacock, who had watched Canada strive and sacrifice in the nearly unlimited war effort of 1914 to 1918. Leacock and many other English Canadians had been willing to pay almost any price in the pursuit of victory, but when the armistice came on November 11, 1918, no one knew how Canada would move forward from the ruin of war.

More than 620,000 citizen-soldiers served in uniform, and 66,000 had been buried overseas or would die of their wounds after the armistice. The nation had made a name for itself on the killing fields of Ypres, the Somme, and Vimy, yet the exertion during the war had nearly torn the country apart along both existing and newly formed fault lines between regions, classes, and English, French, and new Canadians. Canada would never be the same.

Bowker has read widely and draws upon much of the latest scholarship to provide a window into Canada after the war. The return of hundreds of thousands of veterans presented an immediate challenge. These men, many of them wounded in body or spirit, came back to a country that was mired in debt. Women had stepped up to fill many of the men's jobs, and they were now pushed back to the domestic sphere.

The federal government struggled to reintegrate veterans back into society, to provide care and training for the wounded and opportunities for the able-bodied. With only the most embryonic of social security

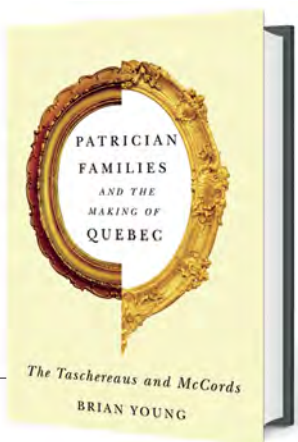
Making History



Charlie's First War
South Africa, 1899–1900
C.H. TWEDDELL
Edited by Carman Miller

Cloth
11 b&w photos, 1 map

"Miller offers a detailed, rich, and thorough introduction to C.H. Tweddell's diary that embraces and incorporates the leading scholarship on the war, both in Canada and from around the world. Situating the wartime experience within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada, Miller provides new material to understand the war and sheds light on what motivated Canadians to participate."
Tim Cook, Canadian War Museum



Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec
The Taschereaus and McCords
BRIAN YOUNG

Paperback
120 b&w photos, 4 maps

"… breaks new ground in multiple ways, especially through the use of elite histories to interrogate changing authority relations over multiple generations. In the process, it reshapes our understanding of class, culture, and social relations."
Bettina Bradbury, York University

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nets, many veterans fell through the cracks, and most were angry about finding, in the words of the day, no "land fit for heroes."

The nation was also plagued by the Spanish flu that killed fifty thousand citizens in late 1918 and 1919. Bowker offers poignant insight into this catastrophe and how Canadians reeled from this cruel blow coming on the heels of the wartime losses. From there, he explores the economic impact of the war and the political battles fought by Prime Minister Robert Borden to ensure a presence for Canada at the Versailles peace conference.

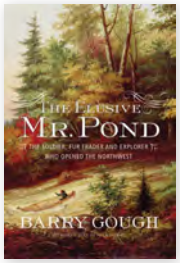
The struggle overseas was used by many groups in Canada to bring about change. They felt that the war, with its need for tremendous sacrifice, had to be about more than defeating Germany, and many Canadians had impossible expectations for a new Canada.

Various groups, largely led by women, had successfully ushered in wartime temperance to ban "demon drink," and that carried into the 1920s in most provinces. This did not always sit well with returning soldiers, many of whom had grown fond of their almost daily shot of rum in the trenches. Organized religion went through agonizing debates, as the terrible war had, for some, shaken faith. And there were changes to the roles of women in society, although much more was needed for them to achieve equal rights.

But the war did not lead to upheaval in all sectors. First Peoples and non-English immigrants who had served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force came back to a country that continued to treat them with little respect or rights under the law. Quebec was further insulated from the rest of Canada as a result of the conscription crisis.

The First World War was a period of enormous upheaval. The nation had responded to Britain's call with a massive war effort, but that had brought unintended consequences. Bowker has done us a service in exploring the turbulent postwar years and in unravelling the intricacies of the war's impact on Canada and Canadians.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of seven books of Canadian history, including *The Necessary War: Canadians Fighting the Second World War* (2014).



MAPPING THE SHADOWS

The Elusive Mr. Pond: The Soldier, Fur Trader and Explorer Who Opened the Northwest
by Barry Gough
Douglas & McIntyre, Madeira Park, B.C., 2014
256 pp., illus., $34.95 hardcover

Peter Pond is not an easy subject for a biography, even though he played a crucial role in the early exploration of the vast area between southern Ontario and the Rocky Mountains. He is, as the title of Barry Gough's book indicates, elusive.

Pond's name is known to most Canadian history students, but he doesn't get the attention given to other traders and explorers, such as Sir Alexander Mackenzie. He does not fit into conventional tales of the fur trade, since he came earlier than the more well-known explorers and was a colonial American — not a Scot, like so many of the others. Also, less has been written about Pond. Perhaps Gough's book will help to bring him the attention he certainly deserves.

There are no known paintings or sketches of Pond, so we can't say for certain what he looked like. It's safe to guess, though, that he was a fine physical specimen, given the intense demands of his chosen profession. As Gough writes, Pond was formidable, a veteran of militia at a time of armed conflict between England and France in North America. He tackled the uncharted Northwest without fear.

Pond was born in Milford, Connecticut, in 1740, fought in the Seven Years War, helped found the North West Company, worked as a Yankee in British North America just after the American Revolution, and returned to Milford in retirement. When he died in 1807, there was no obituary, and no marker was placed on his grave.

It doesn't help that Pond was barely literate. There are not many direct clues to his life, and what he left us is incomplete. The second half of his memoirs has gone missing from the original journal.

One of his most important lasting gifts is the collection of maps he produced, despite a lack of formal cartographic knowledge or scientific precision. They covered what was known about the Northwest in his day and form a valuable reference point for the exploration of the area — on the ground back then, historically today. Four of Pond's maps have been reproduced in *The Elusive Mr. Pond*.

Mackenzie and others have taken more of the spotlight, but it was Pond who set the stage for much of what they did. He was the first explorer to record the Mackenzie River system, and his work far from the river's mouth had an impact on the quest for the Northwest Passage. Where others were confident that a navigable strait existed, Pond knew there was land and had drawn the maps to prove it. Pond's life was not without controversy; he was implicated in two murders, and the truth about them will never be known.

Gough fleshes out Pond's story with information from other fur trade biographies, Colonial Office papers from The National Archives in the United Kingdom, as well as North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company documents. Gough's status as one of Canada's leading historians is certainly justified by this volume. Bit by bit, piece by piece, he brings together a compelling biography of a man who might finally get his just place in the annals of history.

Gough's personal style of writing takes readers along on his journey of discovery and makes us part of his quest. It is engaging and effective; in Gough's hands, history cannot be boring

Reviewed by **Dave Obee**, the editor-in-chief of the *Victoria Times Colonist* and the author of several books on genealogical research.

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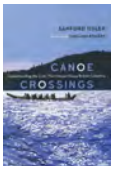


Canoe Crossings: Understanding the Craft That Helped Shape British Columbia
by Sanford Osler
Heritage House, Victoria, 2014
160 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

This slim volume looks at the different kinds of canoes — birchbark, dugout, and animal-skin canoes — and how they evolved. And, while marketed towards British Columbia, much of it could apply to many regions of the country, since canoes have long been a part of Canada's history.

Author Sanford Osler explains the importance of the birchbark canoe to the fur trade. Over time, birchbark was replaced with cedar strips, then canvas, and, later, metal or fibreglas. But the basic design of today's recreational canoes is not much different from the original Aboriginal version.

The most awe-inspiring of Canada's canoes are undoubtedly the ornately carved and painted ocean-going war canoes built the Haida people of Haida Gwaii. The art of building these massive watercraft was almost lost until artist Bill Reid successfully built a canoe called Lootass ("wave eater") for Vancouver's Expo 86. Lootass became the inspiration to construct many more canoes of that type, and it became a strong symbol of Haida identity.

Canoe Crossings is less an exhaustive history and more of an overview, with reflections on how the canoe can help build a sense of community and satisfy an individual's "inner voyageur." The book is nicely illustrated with many colour photographs of modern-day canoeing events.

— **Nelle Oosterom**

Grace Sparkes: Blazing a Trail to Independence
by Marie-Beth Wright
Flanker Press,
St. John's, N.L., 2014
342 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

Grace Sparkes's advocacy, volunteering, and political work in the 1900s made her a pioneer of women's and seniors' rights. The book *Grace Sparkes: Blazing a Trail to Independence* is a tribute to the Newfoundland icon.

Writer Marie-Beth Wright, a retired mathematics and history teacher from Newfoundland and Labrador, dives deep into Sparkes's life. Wright touches on her childhood, her marriage, the death of her husband, and her fight against Confederation in a biography that is detailed and honest — most notably because Wright interviewed more than fifty friends of Sparkes as well as her only daughter, Grace.

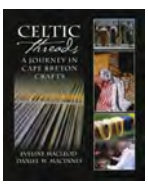
The book features photos of Sparkes from ages four to eighty-four. Some photos capture key moments in her life, such as one that shows her receiving the twenty-fifth anniversary of Confederation medal.

A highlight of the book is the chapter that focuses on Sparkes's fight against Confederation. It illustrates her fierce determination to advocate for what she believed in, even when the odds were against her.

For example, during her first electoral campaign, her husband, John, died. Although she was shattered, she carried on. "I knew he would call me a damn fool if I didn't," Sparkes told CBC Radio in a 1996 interview.

The journalist, teacher, and advocate may not have won the seat, but she earned a name for herself as a trailblazer for women in Newfoundland — a key theme throughout this book.

— **Danelle Cloutier**



Celtic Threads: A Journey in Cape Breton Crafts
by Eveline MacLeod
and Daniel W. MacInnes
Cape Breton University Press,
Sydney, Nova Scotia, 2014
180 pp., illus., $24.95 paperback

Eveline MacLeod and Daniel W. MacInnes's *Celtic Threads* takes readers on a journey into the colourful world of weaving in Cape Breton. The "part-memoir, part-history" delves into the craft's past, tracing its evolution from Scotland to Nova Scotia while mapping out MacLeod's lifelong connection to the art and her community.

Working with MacInnes, a sociology professor of Maritime history, culture, and identity at St. Francis Xavier University, MacLeod situates her wealth of knowledge about weaving methods, patterns, and individuals in Cape Breton within the craft's larger history. Explanations of particular types of fabrics, styles, and works are situated in broader stories. For instance, in the book's first chapter, readers are treated to a detailed account of pioneer life in Cape Breton that touches on the community's origins, economy, and religious practices.

The authors' accessible prose and familiar tone are complemented by photographs of key members of the Cape Breton weaving community and of their woven creations. The combination of communal stories, beautiful images, and historical background will fascinate readers interested in Maritime arts and crafts.

— **Joanne DeCosse**

Cantwells' Way: A Natural History of the Cape Spear Lightstation
by James E. Candow
Fernwood Publishing,
Black Point, Nova Scotia, 2014
168 pp., illus., $22.95 paperback

Living at a lighthouse conjures thoughts of a peaceful, idyllic life. However, as we learn in *Cantwells' Way*, life at Newfoundland's Cape Spear lighthouse involved isolation, ingenuity, and hard work.

James E. Candow's book begins with a description of the people, geography, and "interplay of tradition and modernity in the Newfoundland and Labrador region." The author gives us an education in the history of lighthouses and related technology, such as the use of optics, fog alarms, and acoustics.

The first Cape Spear lighthouse was based on the design of the Villa Rotondai in Vicenza, Italy, and is described as a "square, hip-roofed two-storey structure of wooden construction." It was completed in 1836 and manned by Emanuel Warre until his death ten years later.

James Cantwell kept the light from 1846 to 1879, and, aside from a seven-year appointment given to Austin Shepperd, it was the Cantwell family — five generations of them — that lived, worked, and played there until late in the twentieth century. They lived a dual life as both self-sufficient farmers and middle-class, salaried civil servants.

During the Second World War, military workers were stationed at Cape Spear. Along with added responsibilities for the

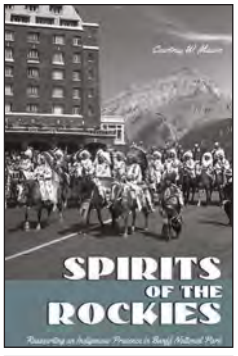
family there was also social activity with dances, movies, and trips to nearby St. John's. Additional buildings were added in the 1950s, including a senior lightkeeper's residence and a new lighthouse. There were plans to demolish the original lighthouse, but, thankfully, it was spared.

In 1970, a national program commenced to destaff lighthouses, and, despite public criticism, Cape Spear was included. The Cantwell family's involvement ended on March 31, 1997, but the restored 1830s lighthouse — the oldest remaining lighthouse in Newfoundland and Labrador — is now part of a National Historic Site that sits at the easternmost point of North America.

Candow's history of the Cantwell family is entertaining, while his analysis of the restoration of the original Cape Spear lighthouse and knowledge of lightstations in general are insightful.

— Beverley Tallon

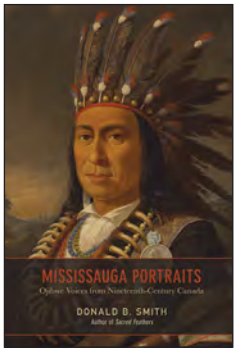
New from University of Toronto Press



Spirits of the Rockies
Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park

by Courtney W. Mason

'*Spirits of the Rockies* is an important and timely book. Its dynamic account reframes the Banff–Bow Valley, placing indigenous actors and understandings at its centre. In the process, it explores the impacts wrought by colonialism, the opportunities brought by tourism, and the ways First Nations people have engaged with both.'
C. Richard King, *Washington State University*



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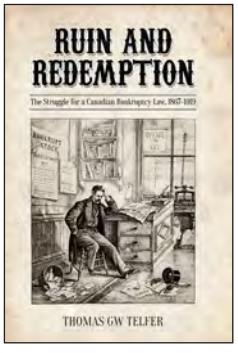

Ruin and Redemption
The Struggle for a Canadian Bankruptcy Law, 1867-1919

by Thomas G.W. Telfer

In *Ruin and Redemption,* Thomas G.W. Telfer traces the evolution of Canadian bankruptcy law and analyses the ideas, interests, and institutions that shaped it.

'It is rare to find a work on commercial law that animates the law and its history… A valuable addition to the legal and historical literature on insolvency law.'
Tamara Buckwold, *University of Alberta*

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The Land of Heart's Delight: Early Maps and Charts of Vancouver Island
by Michael Layland
Touchwood Editions,
Victoria, B.C., 2013
240 pp., illus., $26.95 hardcover

In the Google Earth era, it's easy to forget that for most of the human age the planet was largely an unknown and mysterious place. Think of that timeless mariners' warning that, beyond the tattered map edges, "Here be dragons…."

Over centuries of voyages and journeys of exploration, the understanding of our world's geography grew. With *The Land of Heart's Delight: Early Maps and Charts of Vancouver Island*, Michael Layland has created an attractive and absorbing book that focuses on a small corner of our country that was among the last regions to be explored by Europeans — the west coast of British Columbia.

Filled with beautifully detailed colour and black-and-white map reproductions, this coffee-table book is a must for fans of cartography and history.

— Mark Collin Reid

Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History
edited by Patrizia Gentile
and Jane Nicholas
University of Toronto Press,
Toronto, 2013
446 pp., illus., $34.95 paperback

Some twentieth-century historians used the body as a metaphor to represent connections between people and nation building. "The birth of the nation" and "the fathering of Confederation" are just two examples mentioned by editors Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*. This collection of essays analyzes the relationship between body and nation while highlighting the ways "bodies embody history."

For example, Bonnie Reilly Schmidt, a Ph.D. candidate in British Columbia and a former police officer, examines how the female police body disrupted masculinity

in the RCMP. She argues that masculinity was a foundation of Canada's federal police force and that "the female body dismantled, blurred, and contested conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity in the RCMP and the nation."

A few of the essays are accompanied by photos that serve to illustrate the writers' arguments. One essay, about gendered citizenship during the Second World War, shows posters aimed at reaffirming traditional gender roles for women, such as one that includes the words, "I'm a woman in a man's world — but I'm still a woman!"

Academic in its approach, this book offers seventeen critical and vastly different essays that make up the first collection of its kind in Canada. — **Danelle Cloutier**

Riel's Defence: Perspectives on His Speeches
edited by Hans V. Hansen
McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2014
339 pp., $35 paperback

In 1885, Louis Riel famously stood before a jury of six to defend the rights of Métis people and to defend himself against charges of high treason. The trial lasted five days before Riel was found guilty and sentenced to death.

During this ordeal, Riel gave two passionate speeches. In the first, he addressed the jury. In the second — the lesser-known of the two — he spoke to the court following his verdict. These speeches are the focus of *Riel's Defence*, an interdisciplinary collection of essays that seeks to address these orations in new ways.

The book begins with an accessible summary of background information from the Red River Resistance to Riel's political activism at Batoche, in what is now Saskatchewan. It outlines key issues surrounding the trial, such as the contentious allegations of Riel's insanity — which he firmly rejected — and the legal issues that beset the trial, including the inconsistent use of geographically specific laws and a non-Métis jury. This section is followed by a newly organized, annotated, and edited transcript of Riel's speeches.

The essays are written by people who work in a variety of disciplines, including philosophy, history, law, and religious studies. Papers focus on different aspects of the speeches, such as their uses of rhetoric and logic, arguments, legal merit, and cultural significances. For instance, Kerry Sloan asserts that Riel's political thoughts were influenced by both European and indigenous systems; Benjamin Authers explores the historical meaning of insanity and its association with humiliation; and Louis Groarke provides an extended comparison between Riel and the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates.

This collection investigates the contexts and motives that shaped Riel's speeches. It will be of particular interest to readers who follow the history of the Métis and of Riel.

— **Joanne DeCosse**

Exploring Old Highway No. 1 West: Canada's Route 66
by J. Clark Saunders
Heartland, Winnipeg, 2014
199 pp., illus., $26.95 paperback

Road trip. It's a phrase that evokes ribbons of blacktop stretching to the horizon and endless possibilities for adventure.

In *Exploring Old Highway No. 1 West: Canada's Route 66*, J. Clark Saunders offers a visual road map to the sights and landmarks that dot the old Trans-Canada Highway from the Ontario-Manitoba border all the way to Vancouver Island.

Saunders, a minister at Salt Spring Island United Church in British Columbia, describes himself as an "avid traveller," and his passion for new vistas shines through in his book. In addition to guiding us through the old Highway No. 1, Saunders offers a handful of alternate routes for readers to explore. They include the Yellowhead Highway — which stretches from Manitoba, to Edmonton, and beyond to the northwest coast of British Columbia — and the Crowsnest Route, Highway No. 3 in Alberta.

Filled with plenty of photos, both modern and historic, this book will give you the urge to hop in a classic convertible and hit the open road. — **Mark Collin Reid**

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JOHN MORRIS

The grave marker for William Douse in Charlottetown.

Tales from the crypt

A curious Charles Wilkins tags along as a family uncovers the 150-year-old resting place of one of Prince Edward Island's leading lights.

Until July 2014, I had never even heard of William Douse (1800–1864). Yet in mid-August I found myself crouched in his brick-lined crypt, in the Old Protestant Burying Ground in Charlottetown, running my fingers over Douse's mouldering but magnificently ample coffin. Until then, I had had no idea of the epic scale of the life of this 145-kilogram colonist from Wiltshire, England, who arrived in Prince Edward Island in 1822 and, fuelled by breathtaking ambition, worked to build a life, a colony, and a country. Had a "wasting disease," as his obituary called it, not ended his life just months before the Charlottetown Conference, he would likely have gone down in history as a Father of Confederation.

Douse still holds the record as the longest-sitting member in the history of the P.E.I. Assembly. He was one of the first pre-Confederation colonists to speak up for Aboriginal rights. He was equally a spokesman for the rights of convicts, who during the mid-1800s on P.E.I. were often hanged for minor offences.

Douse was a shipbuilder, brewmaster, innkeeper, grocer, auctioneer, and, briefly, police constable and fire warden. More profitably and controversially, he managed one hundred thousand acres of Island land for the Sixth Earl of Selkirk, collecting rents from agrarian tenants and responding to their requirements and complaints. Because of his resistance to land reform, he was nearly killed during P.E.I.'s Belfast Riot on election night in 1846 and had to be smuggled from the uproar under a wagonload of hay. On another occasion, Douse beat up a newspaper editor who had accused him of using his influence as Selkirk's agent to gain votes. Douse then forced editor William Rankin onto a ship and banished him from the Island.

Douse, who often sailed his own ships from P.E.I. to England, is also credited with braving stormy seas to rescue a dozen British sailors from a sinking ship off the coast of Newfoundland — this after another ship refused the challenge as too great a risk. Even though he was a rent collector for Lord Selkirk and a wealthy man in his own right, Douse's reputation for fairness and generosity was such that,

when he died, his funeral was the biggest in Island history at that time.

When his great-great-great-grandson Kevin Aide told me that Douse's descendants were gathering for a reunion in Charlottetown and that the main event was the unearthing and inspection of the crypt of their illustrious ancestor, my curiosity was roused. When I was told Douse had been buried in a glass coffin, my decision was made. I booked a ticket to Charlottetown and, with the approval of Vic Douse, who had organized the reunion, gathered with the others on the morning of August 12, 2014, watching mesmerized as the digging began.

By that time, my curiosity had been further piqued by a story suggesting that during Prohibition the crypt had been used as an illicit hiding place for booze, and that a decade or two later its wooden doors had been torn off by drunks and indigents so that they could crawl in among the coffins to get out of Charlottetown's bitter winters. Offended by such activities, a great-grandson of Douse's named Vic Purdy had, during the 1960s, laid an iron grate and a slab of rough concrete covered with soil and sod over the entrance to the stairway that led down into the crypt, thus sealing it off.

Fifty years later, it was all removed, and within seconds the crypt was flooded with light. Into the crypt went the most daring scions of the family. "It's all here!" one of them shouted out of the brick-lined tomb.

Eventually we all got our turn. And what everybody had come to see is there in spectacular clarity at the far end of the vault: Douse's coffin — not glass, as it turns out, but solid copper, plainly visible through fractures in the inch-thick hardwood from which the outer coffin is constructed. A couple of smaller Douse family coffins were alongside, one of them grim with rot.

Those who entered for a look, including several children, were rendered solemn in the presence of death. Under instructions to step carefully and to touch nothing, they emerged with long faces into the morning sunshine.

The eventual aim is to restore the crypt and to create a record of its condition and contents, and in that way to mark the 150th anniversary both of Douse's death and of the Charlottetown Conference, which was celebrated across the island in 2014.

Descendants of William Douse begin digging to uncover his crypt.

JOHN MORRIS

Family members remove a grate that covers the entrance to the tomb.

JOHN MORRIS

The interior of the tomb reveals William Douse's coffin and two smaller coffins.

JOHN MORRIS

In the unofficial debriefing that followed the crypt-opening, an eight-year-old girl who took nothing more than a peek was overheard saying to her mother, "I just kept thinking when they opened it up that he was going to stand up and step out of the hole and wonder what was going on!"

In a way, the family patriarch did step forth — in that he was reintroduced to a family and to history. And he was certainly better received than he had been at Belfast on election night in 1846.

Charles Wilkins is at work on a memoir called *The Radioactive Heart*, about his childhood in Canada's original nuclear town, Deep River, Ontario. He is the author of fifteen books and has won five National Magazine Awards.

The former HBC fort at Saskatchewan's Fort Carlton Provincial Park served as a base for the North West Mounted Police.

MRHYLAND/CREATIVE COMMONS

Path of most resistance

Exploring the flashpoints of Louis Riel's 1885 uprising. by Hans Tammemagi

I had only a sketchy recollection of the "Northwest Rebellion" — the armed uprising of 1885 led by Métis leader Louis Riel — when I drove an hour north of Saskatoon to visit the Duck Lake Historical Museum.

I soon learned much more as museum director Celine Perillat took me on a tour of some of the main sites of the resistance.

"Although the Northwest Rebellion stretched from Winnipeg to Alberta, most of the action took place here in Saskatchewan," Perillat said as we drove a short distance west from the town of Duck Lake to a field with a cairn and plaque commemorating the small skirmish that touched off the rebellion.

At the Battle of Duck Lake, Métis fighters led by Gabriel Dumont, Riel's military commander, overwhelmed a group of North West Mounted Police (NWMP), causing the latter to retreat.

As we drove farther west, passing vast yellow fields of canola, Perillat explained what had given rise to the rebellion. Métis people who had settled on land in what is now Saskatchewan were threatened by newly arriving settlers from eastern Canada. When Riel asked the government to protect Métis rights, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald refused. Facing the loss of their land and their survival as a distinct people, the Métis rose up, forming a provisional government led by Riel.

In a parallel tragic story, the First Nations were suffering from the influx of settlers, the ravages of smallpox, and the depletion of the once-vast buffalo herds. Furthermore, the government was not honouring Treaty 6, a major agreement between the Crown and a number of Aboriginal tribes on the prairies. Thus, many Aboriginals joined Riel and the Métis in their struggle. In response, Macdonald sent troops west to quash the uprising.

"I think Louis Riel was misunderstood," mused Perillat, who is part Métis, as we travelled to our next stop. "He was treated as a villain, but many feel he was a hero."

We arrived at Fort Carlton Provincial Park, the site of a restored Hudson's Bay Company trading post, which also served as a base for the NWMP. While there, we wandered along the wooden palisades, spoke with interpretive staff, and touched artifacts such as buffalo hides, beaver skins, war clubs, and birchbark baskets.

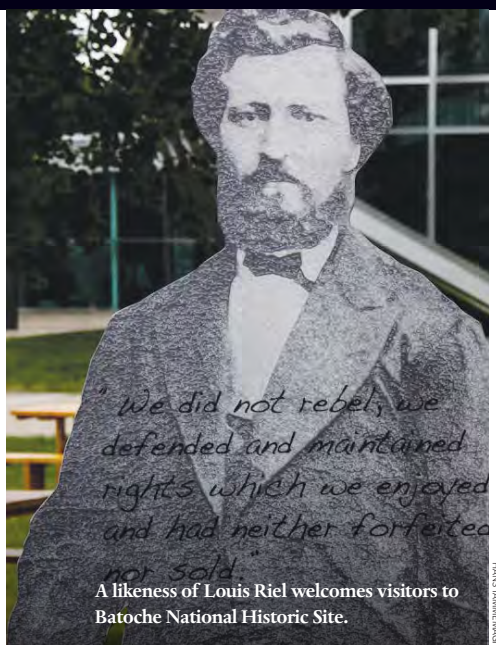
Next we drove east to St. Laurent de Grandin, an early Métis settlement and an annual pilgrimage site for its Our Lady of Lourdes shrine. Many religious miracles have been reported at the shrine, with numerous people believing themselves cured by the spring water that flows from the hillside.

The settlement's cemetery is the final resting place for four Métis fighters who fell in the Battle of Duck Lake. "Look," said Perillat, pointing to a Métis flag flapping in the wind. "That shows the memory of the rebellion is still alive."

Outside of Saskatchewan, however, the event is less well known. In part to address this, Tourism Saskatchewan and several partners have embarked on a project, called Trails of 1885, to signpost each of the twenty or so key sites connected with the uprising. The project, which will span three provinces and include maps and guides, was expected to be completed by late 2014.

"The Trails of 1885 is nationally significant and … will, we hope, attract visitors from around the world," said Mark England of Tourism Saskatchewan.

I silently vowed to someday explore the entire route, which approximately traces the Carlton Trail, a major transportation



A likeness of Louis Riel welcomes visitors to Batoche National Historic Site.

HANS TAMMEMAGI

Bullet holes at Batoche, Saskatchewan, remain from the final battle of the 1885 resistance.

HANS TAMMEMAGI

route in the 1800s, along which Red River wagons rumbled between Fort Garry (Winnipeg) and Fort Edmonton.

In the meantime, I decided to join a one-day canoe tour — the River Trails of 1885, offered by CanoeSki Discovery Company — which visits many of the rebellion sites along the South Saskatchewan River north of Saskatoon. We launched two canoes, and soon the fast-flowing river carried us to Middleton's Camp, a large grassy area marked by a lonely cairn. "Major-General Middleton's forces," said our guide, "camped here for two weeks to regroup after the Battle of Fish Creek, also known as the Battle of Tourond's Coulee."

We paddled on, soon arriving at the battle site, where Dumont's forces ambushed a larger government force and made them retreat. Trails mowed in the grass led us to a lookout with long views onto the river and the surrounding prairie. Metal cut-out figures representing Métis and and government soldiers were arrayed on the valley side, so we could imagine the battle that raged here in April 1885.

Back on the water, we enjoyed the sight of pelicans, ospreys, and wildflowers. We stopped at Petite Ville, an abandoned Métis *hivernant*, or winter village, and munched on Saskatoon berries. After twenty-three kilometres of paddling, we arrived at the once thriving but now abandoned village of Batoche, a National Historic Site.

At the white-sided rectory, a guide in period costume pointed to holes in the wall. "These were made by the much-feared Gatling gun. The government forces also used cannons and cavalry." I gulped as I envisioned the position of the Métis, who, fighting with rifles and little ammunition, were outgunned and outnumbered. They were defeated in this final battle of the resistance. In the cemetery, graves and crosses mark the dead of both sides. It was after this battle that Riel was captured and eventually hanged.

That evening I nursed an ale and thought about the rebellion, Riel, and the parts of the Trails of 1885 I still had to visit. The western part called to me, especially the site of the Frog Lake uprising where Cree warriors, encouraged by the Métis victory in the Battle of Duck Lake, attacked Frog Lake village on the eastern edge of what is now Alberta, killing nine settlers.

I also yearned to visit Manitoba and tour Winnipeg's St. Boniface Museum, and stand silently at Riel's grave in the cemetery beside the St. Boniface Cathedral. Perillat's words echoed in my mind: "Riel should never have been hanged."

Writer and author Hans Tammemagi lives on Pender Island, British Columbia.

Four Métis fighters, killed in 1885, are buried at the St. Laurent de Grandin cemetery in Saskatchewan.

HANS TAMMEMAGI

Greek refugees flee the fighting in Turkey circa 1922.

PUBLIC DOMAIN

Rhymes with ISIS

Canada was asked nearly a century ago to contribute forces to maintain the status quo in the Middle East.

I was reading recently about a violent Islamic insurgency smashing down established borders, creating a refugee crisis among Christian minorities, and forcing the Western powers to intervene, despite the failure of recent military interventions in the Middle East. Would Canada be a loyal member of the alliance, ready to send its forces into harm's way again?

That was the situation in September 2014, when Canada agreed to contribute fighter bombers to the West's campaign against the Islamic State (ISIS) Sunni insurgents who boasted they would create a medieval-style caliphate in Iraq and Syria.

But what I had been reading about took place in September 1922. The insurgents of 1922 were the forces of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who was about to found the republic of Turkey and to abolish the Ottoman sultanate that had dominated the Middle East for six hundred years.

Atatürk had just driven a Greek army out of most of western Turkey. He next intended to restore Turkish control of Constantinople, which was occupied by the Western allies. Britain in particular was determined to hold the straits between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea as a "neutral" — that is, Western-occupied — zone.

In September 1922, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George declared it a vital imperial and worldwide interest to "keep the Turk out of Europe." Calling on its allies to reinforce its garrison at a town called Chanak (today's Çanakkale) on the straits, Britain denounced Turkish atrocities against Christians. Indeed, there was a vast exiling of Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece at this time, with great suffering on both sides.

When the Turkish armies reached Chanak, Atatürk, who had been an Ottoman general at Gallipoli in 1915, would probably have been strengthened by another battle against Western occupiers. But few in the West wanted this fight. Instead, the government of Lloyd George fell.

He was replaced by New Brunswick-born Andrew Bonar Law, the only Canadian ever to be prime minister of Great Britain.

Soon the Treaty of Lausanne ratified the modern boundaries of Turkey and swept away the Western occupation of the straits. The historian Margaret MacMillan observes in her book *Paris 1919* that Lausanne is the only of the postwar treaties that is still largely in effect. Atatürk's Turkey is today a NATO member and is the most stable and democratic of Islamic states in the region. Shipping in the straits has never ceased. But before the stand down, Winston Churchill, Lloyd George's colonial secretary, had asked Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to "dispatch a contingent" to Chanak for "empire solidarity." Before the telegrams were received, he made the request public in a press release.

In 1922 Canada said no. So did most of the other dominions. Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and his new advisor on external affairs, Oscar Skelton, were determined to ensure that Canadian foreign policy and the use of Canadian forces would no longer be determined by the British Foreign Office.

Learning of Churchill's request from press reports, King merely replied that he would have to consult Parliament. Since the Canadian Parliament was not sitting — and King controlled it, anyway — it was clear that King really meant no. Soon Churchill was out of office, and neither King nor Parliament had to decide anything about Chanak.

Canada is a small country, necessarily bound to work in alliances we do not control. Can Canada decline participating when armed intervention does not seem wise or to be in our interest? Or is it more important to be a team player?

These are permanent dilemmas of Canadian foreign policy, in 2014 as in 1922.

ISIS and Chanak are worlds apart, and no one could make policy for 2014 based on what happened in 1922. History does not repeat itself — but it rhymes, it has been said. And Western confidence that dispatching a military contingent will be good for the Middle East's problems has been complicating Canada's foreign policy choices for a long time.

Historian and author Christopher Moore comments regularly in *Canada's History*.

Genealogy on a budget

How to find freebies when researching your family history. By Paul Jones

Say what you will about family history as a hobby, there are no food and beverage minimums. A good job, too, because genealogists are aggressively and sincerely frugal — or, in technical parlance, cheap.

As with most pastimes there is no upper limit on what one could purchase: first-class trips to ancestral homelands and their records offices, or to the world's largest genealogy library in Salt Lake City, Utah; attendance at conferences hosted annually around the world; fully loaded subscriptions to family history websites; memberships in relevant societies here and abroad; the hiring of researchers in faraway places who can navigate impenetrable records repositories in exotic languages; and a growing personal library of all the essential books and journals.

You could quickly run up a tab that would give even a globe-trotting golfer a case of the yips. Yet for virtual pennies — the price of gas money, a library card, and the occasional handling charge — you can do an impressive amount of top-quality research. Here's how:

Visit a Family History Centre

First stop, the closest Family History Centre (FHC) run by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as the LDS or Mormons. These mini-genealogy libraries are readily accessible by the vast majority of Canadians. (Check familysearch.org/locations for the closest one to you.)

Don't worry, you will never be proselytized by the devout while conducting research in an FHC. The knowledgeable, committed volunteers will get you started and show you how to order what you need from the Family History Library in Salt Lake City.

Use of an FHC is free, as is access to the ever-growing array of digitized and indexed records at the related FamilySearch website. And it's just a few dollars to order resources from Utah.

Just remember to call ahead before you visit to make sure you have the FHC's most up-to-date hours of operation, as these can vary.

Use free library resources

Next stop, identify the public library in your area with the most extensive genealogy holdings.

These are probably more comprehensive than you imagine. Provided there aren't impatient patrons milling in a queue behind you, most librarians love to talk about their collections.

Ask if they subscribe to any library editions of commercial family history websites such as Ancestry.ca. (Many FHCs also have access to these editions.)

Also inquire about online services available only to libraries, such as HeritageQuest and Gale Genealogy Connect.

The former offers the Periodical Search Index and many other resources; the latter offers access to reference texts published by Genealogical.com.

Once you settle in at one of the library's computers, you will soon be accessing thousands of databases at no cost to you.

Many researchers pay hundreds a year for largely the same service you're getting for free. Of course they get to do it at 2:00 a.m. in their underwear, an option not yet offered by public institutions.

If you happen live in a university town, check out the research resources available at a nominal charge to local residents. Access to online databases may well be more extensive than in the public library system.

And don't forget about interlibrary loans. At WorldCat (www.worldcat.org) you can locate two billion books, journals, and other items in ten thousand libraries around the globe, including about four hundred and fifty in Canada alone. A WorldCat search done at your library has advanced features not available at the public website.

Work from home

If researching from home is a priority, there are plenty of online resources available to you at no charge.

Start with FamilySearch (familysearch.org) for global records or Library and Archives Canada's Genealogy Services website for Canadian research.

Consider googling your ancestors, especially those with rare or unique names, or looking for mentions of them in out-of-copyright publications available for search at Google Books (books.google.com) or the Internet Archive (www.archive.org). Cyndi's List (www.cyndislist.com/Canada) can provide a structured starting point for access to thousands of free websites.

Even if you aren't a paid-up member of a commercial website such as Ancestry (www.ancestry.ca), you can still get freebies. For example, Ancestry allows limited free access to a wide variety of databases, including various historic censuses and the Drouin Collection that's so important to those with Quebec ancestry.

Try to identify records you want to explore in more detail during the free-access periods that many pay-to-play commercial services often offer around major holidays. Even expensive DNA tests may be offered at a substantial discount.

Be aware that some offers of zero- or low-cost trial subscriptions may require your credit card number and an agreement that a regular subscription will start immediately after the trial period if you do not cancel in the interim.

Unless you truly have no money to spend on your hobbies, you will eventually conclude that there is a value in the convenience of researching on your own terms and from investing in genealogy tourism. By then you'll know how to spend wisely while still pinching your pennies.

Paul Jones, a former publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogical researcher and volunteer.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Pierre Berton Award recipient Mark Zuehlke, left, accepts his medal from Governor General David Johnston during a ceremony at Rideau Hall in November 2014.

VALERIE KEELER

Celebrating Canada's storytellers

Governor General's History Awards recipients recognized in Ottawa.

Their interests may be varied, but their goals are the same — to encourage Canadians to discover, investigate, and commemorate our shared past. On November 3, 2014, more than twenty individuals and organizations were honoured at the Governor General's History Awards.

His Excellency, the Right Honourable David Johnston, presided over the awards, which recognize achievement in five categories: teaching, scholarly research, community programming, museums, and popular media.

Also presented in Ottawa were the SEVEC Ambassador of History Award and three awards recognizing student achievements, including the new Government of Canada History Awards.

The awards are administered by Canada's History in partnership with leading historical organizations, including the Canadian Historical Association, the Canadian Museums Association, Historica Canada, and SEVEC.

The year 2014 marked an important anniversary for Canada's History and the awards program.

It was twenty years ago that the Society was formed and its first award — created to honour individuals who bring Canadian history to a wider audience — was granted to Pierre Berton, who sub-

Tom Clark, chief political correspondent for Global News, acts as MC for the annual History Makers dinner.

VALERIE KEELER

Mike Ford (centre) and Sheesham and Lotus perform a First World War tribute show at the awards gala.

VALERIE KEELER

Canada's History President and CEO Janet Walker, left, and guest Mary Attfield at the History Makers gala in Ottawa.

VALERIE KEELER

André Levesque, Director General Commemoration, Veterans Affairs Canada, and Mark Collin Reid, Editor-in-Chief, *Canada's History*.

VALERIE KEELER

Maude Couturier, a Young Citizens contest recipient, speaks at the National History Forum in Ottawa.

VALERIE KEELER

Minister of Canadian Heritage Shelly Glover (right) with Charles Bilodeau, Kayak Kids Illustrated History Challenge recipient, and Bushra Sajjad, Government of Canada History Awards recipient.

VALERIE KEELER

sequently consented to having the award named after him.

The seventh Canada's History Forum, held annually in conjunction with the awards, was entitled "Canada's Next Great Storyteller" and was a tribute to the legacy of Berton, who died in 2004.

At the forum, the Society celebrated the twenty-two winners of the annual Young Citizens contest, which sees students from across Canada create short videos on local, regional, or national history. The forum was the culmination of a four-day tour of the Ottawa region by the students.

Military historian Mark Zuehlke, the 2014 recipient of the Pierre Berton Award, provided the forum's keynote address. As a young writer, Zuehlke was inspired by the stories of Pierre Berton.

In his address, he shared some of the tips and techniques he learned from Berton in the hope of inspiring the next generation of storytellers. He made the goal clear: "A story told as well as Berton might have done — or possibly even better — is what you want to set out to do."

For more information about this year's recipients and awards celebration, visit CanadasHistory.ca/Awards. Videos from the Canada's History Forum can be found at CanadasHistory.ca/HistoryForum or at YouTube.com/CanadasHistory.

Winners of the 2014 Young Citizens competition receive their awards at the annual National History Forum in Ottawa.

VALERIE KEELER

Alan Convery, director of community relations at TD Bank Group, speaks at the History Makers dinner.

VALERIE KEELER

Governor General's History Awards

Canada's History Society is proud to work with our partner organizations to promote greater interest in the past. Congratulations to all the winners of the 2014 Governor General's History Awards.

Excellence in Community Programming

The Great Lakes Storm of 1913 Remembrance Committee
Goderich, Ontario

La Société historique du Cap-Rouge
Quebec City

Presented by Canada's History Society with the support of Spectra Energy.

Excellence in Museums: History Alive!

Les Musées de la civilisation
Québec City

Presented in partnership with the Canadian Museums Association, with the support of Ecclesiastical Insurance.

Excellence in Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award

Mark Zuehlke, author and military historian

Presented by Canada's History Society.

Excellence in Scholarly Research: The Sir John A. Macdonald Prize

James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*
University of Regina

Presented in partnership with the Canadian Historical Association, with the support of Manulife Financial.

Excellence in Teaching

Connie Wyatt Anderson, Oscar Lathlin Collegiate, Opaskwayak Cree Nation, Manitoba

Michael Berry, Dr. E.P. Scarlett High School, Calgary

Laurie Cassie and Sharon Moy, David Livingstone Elementary School, Vancouver

Gérald Charron, École St-Joseph Pals, Lévis, Quebec

Ryan McManaman and David Alexander, Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, Owen Sound, Ontario

Manon St-Hilaire, Ste-Thérèse-de-l'Enfant-Jésus, St-Jérôme, Quebec

Presented by Canada's History Society with the support of TD Bank and EF Tours.

Student Awards

The following awards are presented at the Governor General's History Awards ceremonies to honour student achievement.

Kayak Kids' Illustrated History Challenge:

An annual illustrated story-writing contest for students aged 7–14 offered by *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*.

English winner: Dominyka Taylor, Fredericton

French winner: Charles Bilodeau, St-Nicolas, Quebec

Presented by Canada's HIstory with the support of TD Bank.

Aboriginal Arts & Stories:

An annual writing and arts competition offered by Historica Canada for Aboriginal youth between the ages of 14 and 29.

Junior Writing Winner: Andrea Lanouette, Surrey, British Columbia

Senior Writing Winner: Aviaq Johnston, Iqaluit, Nunavut

Junior Arts Winner: Mercedes Sandy, Beausoleil First Nation, Christian Island, Ontario.

Senior Arts Winner: Nicole Paul, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Presented in partnership with Historica Canada, with the support of Enbridge.

Government of Canada History Award:

Launched in 2014, this new student essay contest challenges students in grades 10 and 11 to think critically about key moments in history.

Bushra Sajjad, Chinguacousy Secondary School, Brampton, Ontario

Noémie Cloutier, Collège Regina Assumpta, Montréal

Presented by Canada's History with the support of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Other Awards:

SEVEC Ambassador of History Award:

The SEVEC Ambassador of History Award celebrates an individual who has advanced his or her exchange participants' knowledge of Canadian history through a SEVEC (Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada) exchange.

Matt Kelly, Montague Regional High School, Montague, Prince Edward Island

Presented by SEVEC.

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A family tradition

Giovanni-Battisto Graziadei is pictured happily playing the drums at his son's wedding reception on June 12, 1965. J.B., as he came to be known, was the son of Italian immigrant Rocco-Antonio Graziadei, a bandleader and harpist in Ottawa during the Jazz Age of the Roaring Twenties and Great Depression. The senior Graziadei was also the father of ten children, all of whom played a musical instrument and eventually became members of the Graziadei orchestra.

Under Rocco-Antonio, the orchestra performed at evening parties, public and private banquets, and wedding receptions, including for prominent local figures, politicians, and foreign diplomats. Every member was musically talented and was available to people interested in receiving music lessons.

During the day, Rocco-Antonio worked as a steamship agent and as a translator for the Italian Consulate to assist new arrivals. He also sold produce from his garden plot. His passing in 1935 was covered by the area's English- and French-language newspapers.

After the death of his father, Giovanni-Battisto Graziadei continued the family legacy by forming his own private orchestra and performing at the same kinds of evening events. J.B. was not only an accomplished percussionist; he graduated from the University of Ottawa and worked making bridges and dentures for dentists. But he lost his career to the Great Depression, eventually working for the post office to support his wife and five sons.

Music was a part of J.B.'s life up to his death in 1975. Each year on December 23 he performed at a concert in the children's wing of the Ottawa General Hospital on Bruyère Street, near his residence.

Submitted by Marc Graziadei, grandson of Giovanni-Battisto Graziadei.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your submission to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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Janice Wright Cheney, *Widow,* 2012
Wool, cochineal dye, velvet, taxidermy form, pins and wood.